

THIS REPORT HAS BEEN DELIMITED
AND CLEARED FOR PUBLIC RELEASE
UNDER DOD DIRECTIVE 5200.20 AND
NO RESTRICTIONS ARE IMPOSED UPON
ITS USE AND DISCLOSURE.

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

APPROVED FOR PUBLIC RELEASE;
DISTRIBUTION UNLIMITED.

AD 825407

GERMAN NATIONAL CHARACTER: A STUDY OF GERMAN SELF-IMAGES.

by

(11) Rhoda Metraux ~~and~~ Nelly Scharge Hoyt

Studies in Contemporary Cultures - B,

(11) 1953

(12) 255.1

(15) Nonr-552(01)

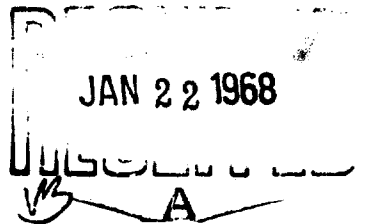
Studies in Contemporary Cultures
The American Museum of Natural History
Central Park West at 79 Street
New York 24, N. Y.

(Nonr - 552 T.O. 01)

DDC

JAN 22 1968

11/11 (025 150)



**Best
Available
Copy**

GERMAN NATIONAL CHARACTER: A STUDY OF GERMAN SELF-IMAGES

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

German National Character: A Study of German Self-Images	Rhoda Métraux	1 - 50
Working Papers		
Introduction	Rhoda Métraux	1 - 3
I. Parents and Children: An Analysis of Contemporary German Child Care and Youth Guidance Literature	Rhoda Métraux	1 - 39
II. German Character Portraits: A View of the World Presented in Juvenile Fiction		
1. The German Family: An Analysis Based on a Study of Juvenile Stories about Home and School	Rhoda Métraux	1 - 37
2. Karl May: Living a Dream. An Exploration of the "Karl May Frage".	Nelly Schargo Hoyt	1 - 29
III. The Gartenlaube: An Exploration of Popular Nineteenth Century Fiction		
1. The Gartenlaube and the "Gartenlaube" Novel: A Magic Mirror for Society	Nelly Schargo Hoyt	1 - 25
2. The Outsider and The Suicide in Popular 19th Century Novels: Two Related Themes . . .	Nelly Schargo Hoyt	1 - 9
IV. Attitudes Towards Wrong-Doing and "Making Good Again": An Analysis of Story Completions by 150 German Pre-Adolescent School Children. . .	Rhoda Métraux	1 - 46
Bibliography		1 - 15

GERMAN NATIONAL CHARACTER: A STUDY OF GERMAN SELF-IMAGES

- Rhoda Métraux

1 This report is a delineation of some aspects of German national character
2 structure based on an analysis and interpretation of various German self-
3 images and expressions of attitudes and beliefs about German culture and the
4 world at large. It is a qualitative study of German cultural expectations
5 about character and personality seen from several different points of view;
6 the synthesis presented here is one that derives from an analysis of images --
7 some of them explicit, some of them implicit -- evoked by Germans' descriptions
8 of themselves and by their interpretations of their own behavior and the
9 behavior of others. For practical purposes, the emphasis of the study has been
10 upon themes that appeared to be significant in personal and family life, and

11 1. The principal work for this report was done in collaboration by an
12 anthropologist (myself) and a social historian (Dr. Nelly Hoyt), both of whom
13 worked with informants -- sometimes jointly and sometimes separately -- and
14 each of whom took responsibility for the analysis of certain other types of
15 material. Each sampled the material on which the other was working and made
16 full use of the other's interim analyses. The ideas presented in this report
17 grew out of a continuing interchange between the two collaborators, but the
18 responsibility for the organization and presentation of the results devolves
19 upon myself. The working papers on particular subjects that follow upon the
20 main report were prepared by each of the authors individually on the basis of
21 joint decisions.

22 This study was done within the framework of earlier studies of European
23 cultures made in Columbia University Research in Contemporary Cultures, in
24 which one (or both) of the analysts had participated and which provided a
25 context for a comparative analysis. It may be added that both participants in
26 this study worked fluently in German and that both had had previous experience
27 of German culture -- one by having spent several years of her childhood in
28 Germany, the other by having grown up in a bilingual German background home.
29 Both began with a good working knowledge of German history and contemporary
30 German literature, and I myself had participated in American wartime studies
31 of Germany.

from page 1

1 the types of material chosen for analysis were selected for their relevance to
 2 this general subject. Potentially, each type of material -- life histories by
 3 German and German background informants, published autobiographies, fictional
 4 presentations in novels and films, in juvenile stories and in cautionary tales,
 5 folk and fairy tales, pedagogical discussions and child care and youth guidance
 6 manuals, newspaper and journalistic reportage, literary criticism, etc. --
 7 provided us with a different approach to problems of living in and thinking
 8 about the world and to depictions of personality. The several kinds of
 9 material were chosen for analysis because they reveal the structuring of
 10 experience as it is expressed in different modes of communication. Each with
 11 its different content and purpose reveals a fantasy image of the world that is
 12 organized in terms of formal stylistic expectations about the handling of reality
 13 and that is congruent with the patterning of awareness in German character
 14 structure. Thus the world structured by the selective memory of an informant
 15 or by the selective imagination of the novelist, the personal relationships
 16 synthesized by the child care expert out of experience and an ideal of conduct,
 17 the delineation of character and plot in the fairytale each have a different
 18 manifest content and style but evoke related images for creator and audience.
 19 This report is, essentially, an attempt to integrate these various kinds of
 20 material into a whole in terms of the imagery evoked as a way of obtaining
 21 insight into German character structure.

22 The groundwork for this study was already laid in intensive studies of
 23 German character and some work on German communities that were particularly
 24 relevant to wartime and immediate post-war problems and that, necessarily,
 25 were phrased in terms of German culture as it was manifested during the Nazi
 26 regime and soon after the military defeat of Germany. In part the intention

27 2. Such studies as those by Bateson, 1942, 1945; Brickner, 1942, 1943;
 28 Dicks, 1950; Erikson, 1942, 1950; Fromm, 1941; Keeskemati and Leites, 1945;
 29 Kraoauer, 1947; Levy, 1946, 1948; Lewin, 1947; Lipkind, n.d.; Lowie, 1952;
 30 Mead, 1949; Rodnick, 1948; "Round Table, 1945," 1945; Schaffner, 1948.

1 of the present study has been to bring together such earlier studies and to
2 discuss some of the hypotheses developed in them in a somewhat wider context
3 and with greater time depth in order that we might have a more generalized
4 picture that would be relevant to the current situation.

5 However, this study does not attempt to delineate the immediate situation
6 in Germany, nor is it a study of German society. Such studies can be made
7 only within the living society and are currently being made by research workers
8 in Germany. Some of the material that has gone into this study has been provided
9 by German informants who were visitors in the United States and who intended
10 to return to Germany in a short time, and by informants who had worked recently
11 on German problems in Germany, and the films and some of the written source
12 materials analyzed are entirely contemporary and may be wholly concerned with
13 what appear to be current problems. Other of our informants had grown up
14 before World War I and their understanding of German problems was modified by
15 distance in time and space even though they were (and had continued to be for
16 many years) in communication with relatives in Germany. And certain of our
17 source materials dated back 100 years or more, e.g. Knigge's book on the
18 management of personal relationships, Über den Umgang mit Menschen (of which a
19 new edition was issued in 1952), and some juvenile literature, and the early
20 Gartenlaube novels and Gartenlaube-type of novels, some of which (for instance
21 Stifter's books) are enjoying a new popularity in post-World War II Germany.

22 In order to understand and analyze the strictly contemporary materials
23 and to place in context some of the older materials discussed by informants,
24 it was necessary to have a working knowledge of present day conditions in
25 Germany, but in this report no attempt will be made to outline the social

1 situation that has developed in the past eight years, or to discuss specific
2 attitudes towards such questions as the effect upon German action of the
3 division of Germany into zones of occupation or, now, into two political
4 entities (although the recognition of this as a basic problem led us to work
5 especially with German attitudes towards fragmentation and unification), or the
6 effect on German life of the continuing presence in different regions of Germany
7 of displaced German nationals, refugees from areas now outside German control,
8 and Volksdeutsche who fled from or who were forced out of other countries
9 in Europe (although we attempted to interview informants about their attitudes
10 towards refugees and did considerable work on German attitudes towards outsiders),
11 or German attitudes towards defeat and the management of reconstruction (although
12 German attitudes towards problems of autonomy were central to this study), and
13 so on. Germans, especially visitors, were extremely reluctant to discuss their
14 life during the Nazi regime and during the war with American interviewers
15 (though, of course, considerable information was obtained incidentally in the
16 course of interviews and conversations) and in this report we have not been able
17 -- as we had hoped -- to work on shifting emphases during crucial periods in
18 the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. What we found among our informants was a denial
19 or a repudiation of the immediate past (phrased in very different ways depending
20 upon the experiences and past and present situation of an informant) and
21 attempts either to cut loose from the past or to throw bridges back to the more
22 distant past as a way of building a new stability or as a way of reconciling
23 oneself to the extremely unstable present. Working with this material, we
24 attempted not so much to relate it to the immediate social situation as to
25 integrate it with other materials on attitudes towards time, towards stability,

1 etc. as a way of understanding German character and expectations about character.
2 Thus we used the multiple images of the present and the past as clues to the
3 personality of the image-makers and attempted to deduce from them what German
4 expectations about character were and are.

5 In this study I have attempted to make statements about regularities in
6 German character structure without specific reference to regional, religious,
7 class and occupational variations -- but with full awareness that such differences
8 do exist and are extremely important in German thinking and in relationships
9 with Germans abroad and at home. Germans are likely to have intense feelings
10 about the locality and the group in which they grew up and they expect other
11 Germans to have equally strong feelings about their own Heimat and customs and
12 people (though in both cases such feelings may take the form either of deep
13 loyalty or passionate repudiation). Germans have particularist attitudes --
14 which are balanced by an idea of Germanness (Deutschtum) and of German culture,
15 of the German people (das Volk -- a conception which was developed and exploited
16 in Nazi thinking, but which has a much wider application than was given it
17 during that period) and of the continuity of German thought -- and are also
18 exceedingly articulate about their own particularistic forms of thought,
19 recognizing them as relevant to Germans in general. Similarly, Germans are
20 status oriented -- are sensitive to behavior and ideas related to status --
21 though their expectations about how they should behave to others and how others
22 should behave to them will vary very considerably depending upon who they are
23 and who the others are. Among our German informants there was none who was not
24 concerned with some problem of this sort and few who did not refer, directly
25 or indirectly, to published discussions of the past twenty years about German

1 etc. as a way of understanding German character and expectations about character.
2 Thus we used the multiple images of the present and the past as clues to the
3 personality of the image-makers and attempted to deduce from them what German
4 expectations about character were and are.

5 In this study I have attempted to make statements about regularities in
6 German character structure without specific reference to regional, religious,
7 class and occupational variations -- but with full awareness that such differences
8 do exist and are extremely important in German thinking and in relationships
9 with Germans abroad and at home. Germans are likely to have intense feelings
10 about the locality and the group in which they grew up and they expect other
11 Germans to have equally strong feelings about their own Heimat and customs and
12 people (though in both cases such feelings may take the form either of deep
13 loyalty or passionate repudiation). Germans have particularist attitudes --
14 which are balanced by an idea of Germanness (Deutschtum) and of German culture,
15 of the German people (das Volk -- a conception which was developed and exploited
16 in Nazi thinking, but which has a much wider application than was given it
17 during that period) and of the continuity of German thought -- and are also
18 exceedingly articulate about their own particularistic forms of thought,
19 recognizing them as relevant to Germans in general. Similarly, Germans are
20 status oriented -- are sensitive to behavior and ideas related to status --
21 though their expectations about how they should behave to others and how others
22 should behave to them will vary very considerably depending upon who they are
23 and who the others are. Among our German informants there was none who was not
24 concerned with some problem of this sort and few who did not refer, directly
25 or indirectly, to published discussions of the past twenty years about German

"authoritarianism"; many, even in speaking German, had incorporated this English word into their vocabulary -- irrespective of whether or not they accepted and approved its application to German individuals, German politics, or the German hierarchical system. Interacting with an American, who was assumed by them to have read about "authoritarianism" and to have views on the subject, informants felt they too must have and express an opinion of their own. Consequently, this too is a subject about which contemporary Germans are very articulate. Repudiating so-called "authoritarian" tendencies in themselves, some informants would attribute authoritarian attitudes to "Prussians" or to "civil servants" or to "Protestants" or to "lower middle class fathers" or to "other families but not my own"; or, attempting to modify the implications of this term as used in application to Germans, some referred to "the Western European family" (e.g. Lowie, 1952) or to "the Victorian pattern of the family," etc. This report is written with full awareness of existing and ascribed differences in the content of behavior and of differing opinions about the content of behavior, so that specific illustrations may refer more especially to one group of Germans than to another, but the point of reference is a regularity in behavior and belief that is of more general application.

3. This use of foreign-language terms is extremely common in German (and is counterbalanced by periodic attempts -- as during the Nazi regime -- to do away with "foreign" phraseology). Related to it was a complaint, reported by Americans who had interviewed Germans who had returned to Germany from visits to the United States, that they were unable to work new materials (especially scientific materials) because they could not "translate" them.

4. In interviewing Germans it was our practice not to make any reference to "authoritarianism" or to studies of German culture on this subject until or unless the informant himself (or herself) did so.

At the same time, it should be said that the core of the material presented here is middle class and the character structure which is described is predominately that of middle class Germans. By this I do not mean that it has reference only to middle class Germans -- for many of those who are described in the terms used here and who attributed relevant behavior patterns to themselves and others were not, in fact, "middle class" persons. Thus, Louis Ferdinand's autobiography, The Rebel Prince, exemplifies ideals which I shall describe as much as did the life history of an eighty-year old woman whose father was a minor employee of the Imperial Railroad and who was, herself, a nursemaid for many years in homes in Germany and in the United States, though neither were, in German socio-economic terms, middle class individuals. The point is rather that Germans who were -- and are -- middle class exemplify a type of character structure and an ideal of life that is shared in and approved by Germans as a whole.

In this report I shall discuss first the organization of the German family and then the upbringing of the child and, finally, attitudes towards the world and the self that appear to develop out of the family system and the learning experiences of parents and children.

I.

Studies of German family life and of German culture as it is expressed in family life have, in general, focused upon the nuclear group of father, mother and children and upon the delineation of the relationships among the

5. Prior to 1933, the main deviants appear to have been on the one hand the so-called Lumpenproletariat (mainly unskilled workers, many of them of non-German origin) and, on the other hand, the upper Catholic aristocracy and the corresponding Catholic peasant group of southern Germany. At present such a social description is made well-nigh impossible because of the extreme shifts of groups that have taken place in the past ten years.

1 members of these two generations who live together in das Elternhaus (the
2 parents' home). From the German point of view this small group, although
3 crucial, is but part of the family. The family is, in fact, a much more
4 inclusive group consisting of members of at least three generations and of
5 numerous households, each household independent of all the others but linked
6 by the ties of affection, influence and personal interest of the several
7 members in each. An understanding of the relationships of the nuclear group
8 is dependent upon visualizing its members within the larger context of the
9 family as a whole.

10 In the household a married couple and their children belong to two
11 families -- that of the husband and that of the wife, -- each of which has
12 its ramifications and its informally acknowledged "head." Children are welcome
13 visitors in many households because they are brother's-child or sister's-child.
14 Grandparents have a definite place in the households of their children because
15 of their relationship with the grandchildren. Thus in the ~~large~~ family the
16 links which are given special importance are those (1) between siblings, and
17 (2) those between grandparent and grandchild. Family lines overlap but, in
18 general, members of separate families do not mix very much: obligations and
19 friendship may be extended to include spouse's siblings (and perhaps their
20 children) but not to their whole group viewed as a "family." Thus the family
21 lines remain quite clear, although an individual can count himself as a member
22 of two families and feels close to others. Family relationships are regarded
23 as permanent -- so much so that they are commonly maintained with close affinal

6

1 kin even after the death of the linking relative. This sense of permanence
2 is reflected in juvenile stories where the good step-mother encourages her
3 step-children to remember their true mother and attempts to build a parallel

4 6. So, for instance, a German background informant describes the families
5 to whom she felt related, some of whose members lived in the United States and
6 others in different parts of Germany:

7 Visiting the different relatives in Germany was a whole summer's
8 occupation. First my father's sisters who lived in Hamburg and Cuxhaven
9 and Hanover. My father died during World War I but after that war my
10 (maternal) grandfather sent them all food and clothes because my mother
11 lived with him and she kept in touch with her sisters-in-law and their
12 husbands and children. Then we visited my mother's maternal family in
13 Kassel and in Diets and one or two other places -- my mother's aunts
14 and uncles and cousins. Only two of the cousins were special friends of
15 my mother, but both my mother and one of her maternal uncles (who lives in
16 the United States) and his wife and daughter visited every one of these
17 families -- though at different times -- and both helped them after both
18 wars. My mother's uncle's wife also had a large family in Germany whom she
19 visited, but we only knew where they lived; we never even knew their names.
20 Then we had to visit my step-father's brother and sister. When we were
21 with them we met their parents-in-law but we never got to know them and
22 the two sets of parents-in-law never appeared at the same functions.
23 My step-father's parents were dead.

24 After World War II the obligation to look after relatives was divided
25 up more or less as follows: My mother looked after her first husband's
26 sisters and their children and their children -- but not after the families
27 of her nephews' and nieces' wives and husbands, even though some of them
28 were known to be in need. My mother and her brother shared in looking
29 after relatives of their father. My mother, her brother and a cousin
30 (mother's brother's daughter) looked after my mother's maternal family,
31 and these people in turn took over the responsibility of looking after the
32 graves of kin whose immediate families lived in the United States. My
33 mother and my step-father jointly took care of his relatives, a task which
34 my mother took over after the death of my step-father. The parceling out
35 of responsibilities was discussed very thoroughly and in minute detail --
36 but no one even considered the possibility of caring for anyone who was
37 outside "the family." The one exception was that some of my mother's
38 maternal relatives in the United States (cousins who were not in close
39 contact with their relatives abroad) told her that she should use the
40 clothes they gave her as she saw fit because her "families" were so large.

41 This pattern of obligation was maintained not only by visits and
42 in difficult times, but also by commitments on every other family occasion
43 -- at weddings and births and christenings, when notices had to be sent
44 to the proper people, at Christmas when children had to be remembered
45 and children had to write to adults. The lines between the different
46 families were crossed only at times of mourning when a relative might take
47 notice of the fact that the relative of a relative had died. Except that

6

1 kin even after the death of the linking relative. This sense of permanence
2 is reflected in juvenile stories where the good step-mother encourages her
3 step-children to remember their true mother and attempts to build a parallel

4 6. So, for instance, a German background informant describes the families
5 to whom she felt related, some of whose members lived in the United States and
6 others in different parts of Germany:

7 Visiting the different relatives in Germany was a whole summer's
8 occupation. First my father's sisters who lived in Hamburg and Cuxhaven
9 and Hanover. My father died during World War I but after that war my
10 (maternal) grandfather sent them all food and clothes because my mother
11 lived with him and she kept in touch with her sisters-in-law and their
12 husbands and children. Then we visited my mother's maternal family in
13 Kassel and in Diets and one or two other places -- my mother's aunts
14 and uncles and cousins. Only two of the cousins were special friends of
15 my mother, but both my mother and one of her maternal uncles (who lives in
16 the United States) and his wife and daughter visited every one of these
17 families -- though at different times -- and both helped them after both
18 wars. My mother's uncle's wife also had a large family in Germany whom she
19 visited, but we only knew where they lived; we never even knew their names.
20 Then we had to visit my step-father's brother and sister. When we were
21 with them we met their parents-in-law but we never got to know them and
22 the two sets of parents-in-law never appeared at the same functions.
23 My step-father's parents were dead.

24 After World War II the obligation to look after relatives was divided
25 up more or less as follows: My mother looked after her first husband's
26 sisters and their children and their children -- but not after the families
27 of her nephews' and nieces' wives and husbands, even though some of them
28 were known to be in need. My mother and her brother shared in looking
29 after relatives of their father. My mother, her brother and a cousin
30 (mother's brother's daughter) looked after my mother's maternal family,
31 and these people in turn took over the responsibility of looking after the
32 graves of kin whose immediate families lived in the United States. My
33 mother and my step-father jointly took care of his relatives, a task which
34 my mother took over after the death of my step-father. The parceling out
35 of responsibilities was discussed very thoroughly and in minute detail --
36 but no one even considered the possibility of caring for anyone who was
37 outside "the family." The one exception was that some of my mother's
38 maternal relatives in the United States (cousins who were not in close
39 contact with their relatives abroad) told her that she should use the
40 clothes they gave her as she saw fit because her "families" were so large.

41 This pattern of obligation was maintained not only by visits and
42 in difficult times, but also by commitments on every other family occasion
43 -- at weddings and births and christenings, when notices had to be sent
44 to the proper people, at Christmas when children had to be remembered
45 and children had to write to adults. The lines between the different
46 families were crossed only at times of mourning when a relative might take
47 notice of the fact that the relative of a relative had died. Except that

7

1 rather than a displacing relationship with the children.

2 Each of the nuclear family groups lives independently of all the others
3 and, although brothers and sisters are supposed to stand together in times of
4 crisis, any attempt to intervene in one another's lives is regarded as an
5 invasion which is deeply resented. Each is, as it were, a guest in the other's
6 house. And, in fact, the occasions when different members of a family come
7 together are likely to be kept within a slightly formal context: birthdays,
8 confirmations, weddings, anniversaries, and so on. This applies to parents
9 and adult children as well as to siblings who have grown up in one home. So,

10 6. (cont'd.) my step-father sometimes visited some of mother's maternal
11 kin, I do not think that, over a period of more than forty years, anyone in one
12 family met any member of any other family among all those whom we, as children,
13 regarded as "our" family.

14 7. This is reflected also in the world of the fairytale, where the good
15 and loving mother continues to aid her child after death (e.g. in the German
16 version of Cinderella). The reverse situation (another aspect of the fairytale)
17 may come out in the deep resentment felt by a child who has a "bad" step-mother,
18 e.g. an informant explains why she left home as a very young girl:

19 Our step-mother was so mean to us. She slapped us and hit us and didn't
20 take care of us. And my father wouldn't listen. He only had eyes for
21 his beautiful young wife. I don't blame him. She was very beautiful
22 and he forgot everything else. He would come home late in the evenings
23 and then he only saw her. She never had a child.

24 8. The fact that kinship obligations are extensive and that kin belong
25 to a trusted group made it possible for hundreds of thousands of Germans to
26 find "homes" during and after the war when they were bombed out or had to flee,
27 but equally the fact that relatives had to share in one household made for
28 extreme friction among those involved. For then the line between guest and
29 fellow-member of a household tended to break down and each, as informants
30 said, "grated" on the other as they had to share crowded quarters. "Only
31 when they left could we breathe again" (konnten wir aufatmen), said a sister-
32 in-law -- as if the situation had been one of gradual personal suffocation.

1 for instance, speaking of the break between father and son when the son has
2 grown up, a man said:

3 I think that after / sons / are out of the house the fathers do not care
4 so much. They would take it very seriously if the son would try to assume
5 any authority in the house or question a decision, but as long as he is
6 taking care of himself and is outside, there is not so much interest
7 / in his own decisions /.

8 And, speaking of his father visiting him in his house, he continued:

9 ... things ran along the same lines / as usual / when Father visited,
10 and he did not expect to be treated in a particular way; he expected
11 only the courtesy which was due to an old man visiting anyone.

12 The organization of the larger family is, in a sense, a replica of a regional
13 map of Germany: each nuclear group is independent of the others and has its
14 own rules and feelings about its own small Heimat; autonomy depends on having
15 a place where everyone other than an actual member of the household is a guest.
16 Beyond this, the fact that they are members of a family unites them against
17 the rest of the world, irrespective of where they live. At the same time,
18 living apart from the family -- in a home of one's own, in a different city, in
19 a different part of Germany -- gives a person a sense of independence and of
20 individuality. It is as if regional particularism supported particularism
21 within the family as a whole, and as if this, in turn, supported the sense which
22 the individual has of being a person in his (or her) own right. Thus it would

23 9. Related to this is the feeling Germans have that Germans remain German
24 no matter where in the world they may go -- and the feeling that "Auslandsdeutsche"
25 or "Volksdeutsche" (foreign-Germans or Folk-Germans) are unwarranted intruders
26 when, by force of circumstance, they return to Germany.

27 10. In this connection, it is significant that dreams of emigrating from
28 Germany -- including day dreams about going to explore "desert regions" --
29 are likely to be phrased as solitary adventures. The young boy who wants to
30 leave Germany dreams of going alone or at most with an intimate friend. At
31 the same time, Karl May, the dreamer-adventurer of his own fiction, is, above
32 all else, in the far places where he adventures -- a German.

1 seem that the family -- that permanent membership in a group -- is a necessary
 2 condition to feeling oneself an autonomous individual, but that autonomy also
 3 involves removing oneself --placing oneself to some extent outside the family
 4 to which one belongs.

5 For Germans the family is the most stable and permanent factor in life,
 6 even in the "abnormal" conditions that prevail today. So, for instance, Wenke,
 7 discussing the necessary family and educational conditions for achieving
 8 maturity, writes (Wenke, 1952, pp. 106-107):

9 In the face of the present difficult circumstances one might doubt
 10 whether / these conditions / should be treated as the normal ones ...
 11 I believe it is necessary to hold to this and I do so not out of a lack
 12 of concern or out of blindness for the miseries and unhappiness of our
 13 time or else because I do not take seriously the difficulties of life for
 14 countless young people; rather I base this on the following consideration
 15 which may seem to be theoretical but which has very practical results:
 16 The normal remains normal, even if it becomes more unusual and -- what is
 17 even more important -- the abnormal does not become normal just because it
 18 increases rapidly. Precisely to counteract resignation to abnormal
 19 circumstances, I believe it is necessary to uphold the advancement of the
 20 normal so that the monstrous situation does not prevail in which the abnormal
 21 has become the rule and the normal has become the ideal or even the utopian.

22 11. Kracauer (1947) discusses one aspect of this problem in his chapter
 23 entitled "From Rebellion to Submission" (Chapter 10) in which he describes the
 24 contrasting imagery of "the home" and "the street" in a series of films made
 25 in the 1920s. In these films, the return of the rebel from the street to the
 26 home is phrased as a retreat from an independent, individualistic position
 27 into the greater safety of family life. Thomas Mann, in Tod in Venedig, and
 28 Hermann Hesse, in Steppenwolf, describe the isolation of the individual who
 29 cuts himself off from the group to which he belongs, and the psychological
 30 dangers to which he is exposed. (In both cases the protagonist is destroyed.)

31 Generally speaking, in contemporary discussions of problems of personality,
 32 membership in a group and individual autonomy are not proposed as alternative
 33 solutions, nor is one phrased as an aspect of the other. Rather the two are
 34 phrased as if they were parallel to each other, as when Seelmann (1952) writes:

35 The human being is an entity closed in itself and at the same time,
 36 as such, is a member of a larger group. (p. 15)

37 Nevertheless, for the child, autonomy is contingent upon having been a member of
 38 a group: the child is said to learn how to be an individual and how to be
 39 a group member by having lived in the family.

1 Thus, in the post-war world -- partly in reaction to the preceding period --
 2 the central importance of family life is reiterated even in the face of the
 3 impossibility of creating or recreating a complete family for countless Germans.
 4 In theory, if not in practice, the ideal remains the practically desirable.¹²
 5 In this, contemporary writing echoes a theme that has been central in German
 6 fiction during the whole of the past 100 years.¹³

7 This does not mean that Germans regard their own family life as idyllic.
 8 On the contrary, informants' accounts of family life regularly emphasize the
 9 stresses and strains of living in a family. For each German, his own family
 10 is in some way exceptional -- unlike other German families, usually in the
 11 degree of harmony or disharmony maintained. Yet each statement about own
 12 family is likely to be a double statement.¹⁴ So, for instance, an informant may
 13 insist that everyone in his family got along very well -- and later say that
 14 this was because, in fact, no one had -- in his opinion -- anything to say;
 15 the children kept everything they could to themselves rather than provoke a scene.

16 12. In this connection, one may cite the continuing popularity -- among
 17 young German readers (cf. Haseloff, 1953) -- of the family novel (e.g. the
 18 stories by Haarbeck, n.d.; Kastner, 1949; Sapper, 1950, 1951, 1952; Schumacher,
 19 1951; Stinde, 1951; Ury, 1950, 1951, 1952; Wildhagen, 1937).

20 13. Cf. the discussion of themes in the popular novels in Die Gartenlaube
 21 in a paper by Nelly Hoyt, below.

22 14. It is difficult to say to what extent the consistency with which such
 23 double statements occurred was a function of the interview situation in which
 24 an informant, at first feeling his way, tried to say what was expected (or
 25 something he felt would be unexpected) and later -- as the interview progressed
 26 -- or in another interview -- amended or altered the original statement or made
 27 a quite new statement on the same subject. In any event, the ambivalence must
 28 be seen not only as ambivalence about family life but also about a relationship
 29 to an interviewer.

1 Or an informant might insist that her family was very harmonious and later
2 say that her family quarreled all the time but that, unlike other families
3 which were torn by such strife, hers got along very well because of the continual
4 disagreements: they quarreled safely because they were so close. Or an informant
5 might say that his own family was in every way an example of "the authoritarian"
6 family, where everyone had to give way to the father's wishes, and later describe
7 his paternal grandmother as the person who, in fact, made the important decisions,
8 whom the children -- her own children and her grandchildren -- feared, but
9 to whom the grandchildren turned when they wanted to do something contrary to
10 their father's wishes, with some assurance that they might get their way.
11 Or an informant, comparing English family life with her own said that English
12 fathers "might express their disapproval about something -- for instance, the
13 magazines which their children brought home -- but would not insist because
14 the children have to learn for themselves"; in contrast her own father "could
15 never stop telling the children about his disapproval; so there were always
16 arguments." Asked whether the children (adolescents and university students)
17 stopped doing the things that were disapproved of or forbidden, she said that
18 they did not and "that was why we were always arguing." Her brother, she said,
19 continually ran away from home in protest, but "we got used to it -- we knew
20 he would come home when he was hungry."

21 So, from informants one gets a picture of family life where the ideal is
22 seldom approximated. What informants tend to stress is rather the deviation
23 from the ideal -- the personal resentments within the family, the suffering
24 of children who are not understood and who are not helped to realize hopes
25 and plans and who rebel futilely against the demands of their parents, and the

1 "heavy hand" of the father, etc. -- but at the same time they emphasize
 2 closeness of the relationship among siblings, the gaiety of family occasions,
 3 and the tightness of the family group. The difficulties of family life are
 4 rather the difficulties of adolescence than those of small childhood.
 5 Geborgenheit -- security -- is a key word in descriptions of the life of the
 6 child with its parents in any memory of childhood that is positive and accepting;
 7 in German this word has emotional overtones of trust and warmth and loving
 8 care (however strictly that care may be exercised) that modify the gray chill
 9 that seems to be connected with that other key word for home and family:
 10 Ordnung -- regulated order.

11 Studies of German family life have emphasized the central position of the
 12 father in the family. Thus Schaffner writes (1948, p. 15):

13 Family life revolves around the figure of the father. He is
 14 omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent, as far as this is possible
 15 for a human being. He is the source of all the authority, all the
 16 security, and all the wisdom that his children expect to receive. Every
 17 other member of the family has lower status and lesser rights than his.

18 It is the father who issues orders and expects them to be obeyed ...

19 The father also serves as a model for his children. He is a
 20 Vorbild (an ideal) for them to follow. This imposes upon him the duty
 21 of living on the level of his own standards, and makes him a rather
 22 remote and lofty figure ...

23 The German father lays so much stress upon respect for his authority
 24 that he actually may sacrifice other familial values in order to maintain
 25 it.

26 At the same time, a major drama in family life arises from the fact that
 27 father, who is the undisputed head of his own home, must be subservient to
 28 others abroad and may take out his resentments (not publicly expressed) on
 29 members of his family on whom he can safely impose his demands.

1 The German mother is depicted as a secondary person in the home, always
15
2 subordinate to the father. So, according to Bateson and Mead:

3 Diagrammatically stated, a German child has three mothers: the mother
4 who is a loving companion and friend -- while father is away; the mother
5 who becomes father's ally and deserts and often even sacrifices her child
6 to the father when he comes home; and the mother who, in spite of the
7 utmost docility, incurs father's disfavor and so, via suffering, turns
8 back to the child when father has gone away. Playmate mother, betraying
9 mother, suffering mother, form a cycle ...

10 And, according to Schaffner (1948):

11 Thus a woman's relationship to her children and her status within
12 her home are variable and insecure. There can be only one authority
13 in the home (the father) and only one court of appeal. The woman has
14 essentially a child's status, and the children sense it.

15 Her adjustment in her marriage depends on the degree to which she
16 complies with the standards and demands of her husband; the most frequent
17 solution is to identify herself as completely as possible with him in
18 order to minimize the chances of friction ...

19 The mother, whose marriage relationship may provide her with no
20 more than physical security and a routine life of service and association
21 with her husband, is likely to direct the greater part of her feeling
22 and affection toward her children ...

23 But the mother can compete for the children's favor in her own way.
24 The father's influence is based upon authority, hers upon the affection
25 which she can introduce into the relationship. She maintains her hold
26 upon them, not by virtue of fear or respect, but by "mother-love," the
27 strongest emotional tie within the German family ...

28 The accepted pattern is for the wife to identify herself with the
29 husband's point of view, remaining subordinate to him, and for the child
30 to find his own "natural" place, subordinate to both.

31 It becomes a major problem when the father and mother do not come
32 to a large measure of agreement and unity ... / Then / the unresolved
33 marital conflict is passed on to the children, who are forced to make a
34 choice between them ... However, German children particularly resent
35 having to make such a choice; they prefer the simple, straightforward
36 family pattern, without a marital conflict.

37 15. Unpublished report, "Preliminary Memorandum on Problems of German
38 Character Structure" (1942).

1 "The simple, straightforward family pattern, without a marital conflict"
2 is the ideal. But in a sense, Schaffner's description states the ideal of
3 family relationships as it might be phrased by Germans who are reacting against
4 this ideal.¹⁶ In fact, the basic point about the German family is that, for
5 practical purposes, it can have only one head. In theory, the father and
6 mother form a single entity; in practice this means that either one of the
7 marriage partners may be the dominant one (and it is likely to be known to
8 everyone which it is) but that, if it is the mother who runs the family, she is
9 likely to phrase decisions as "Vater will es nicht" (Father doesn't want it),
10 using the father's ascribed position to bolster up her actual one, and removing
11 the responsibility for decision-making from herself. In a family of this kind,
12 the father, having deferred to the mother's judgment, will be expected to back
13 up her statement of his position.¹⁷

14 From one point of view, the head of the German household is not a
15 lawmaker but a chief executive. That is, the rules that govern good behavior,
16 the decisions that make possible the maintenance of Ordnung (systematic order),
17 the discipline that is imposed for the sake of order and comfort have nothing
18 to do with personalities or with any one person's ideas and convenience, but

19 16. Lowie's point -- namely that the patriarchal family is typical of
20 western Europe and that "by 1930 masculine patriarchy had become obsolete
21 in Germany" (Lowie, 1952) -- is a somewhat different one. Current writing
22 and the statements of younger informants substantiate Lowie's finding
23 i.e. that the position of the head of the family has been modified over the
24 past 40 years or so in Germany.

25 17. Preferably also, the mother should "act with dignity" and not "gossip"
26 about her abilities. A common complaint of younger, professional German
27 women is that "when women get together at a Kaffeeklatsch the only thing they
28 talk about is how they manage their men, how they twist them around their
29 fingers."

derive from the natural order of things, are related to principles of right and wrong and good management and so on. So, for instance, Plattner (1861) writes about the rule of "law or caprice" in a book on child education:

The more we think about education for obedience, the more clearly we recognize one thing: we should not subordinate our little ones to our caprice (Willkür) but to a firm, clear, dependable law (Gesetz), which gives their lives steadiness (Halt) just as the laws of nature give it to us adults. They are iron (ehern -- literally, brass or bronze). We suffer the consequences or have success depending upon whether we touch the glowing stove or warm ourselves nearby it. Nature does not give reasons for her laws, she leaves it to us to discover or not to discover reasons and relations -- and in any case her laws remain unchangeable.

Since obedient children do not obey our caprices but the law, since it is necessary for them to obey not for our sake but for their own, they do not deserve praise or reward for obedience. We grownups do not expect any special recognition if we, for instance, do not touch high tension wires, or if we do not steal ... Children thrive best if they grow up apparently unobserved and get the feeling that they are placed within an impersonal / rule of / law in which there is room neither for the caprice of the adult nor for that of the child. (p. 41)

From this point of view, the head of the household is simply the guardian of correct practice, as the mother is also when she helps the infant master the tasks which are set "by Life." At the same time, however, the child is continually told that it should act thus and so, should do this and not that because Father or Mother wants it or does not want it; or a mother may coax a reluctant child by saying "Tue es mir zuliebe" (Do it for the love of me), or a reluctant adult may be urged to "Do it for your brother's sake so he won't be hurt," or to "Do it for the family's sake." ¹⁸ Thus, although the rules may be as those of the Medes and the Persians, an individual may be continually urged to act properly on personal grounds. Similarly, there is a fairly general belief that children are naughty -- and that adults indulge in bad behavior -- for personal reasons. "Was hast du mir wieder beschert!" (What a

18. In the same way, almost every adult German can recall being spoon fed as a small child: "One spoon for Mutti, and one spoon for Vati, and one spoon for Opa and one spoon for Oma and one spoon for Tante Emma ..."

1 present you have given me again!) is a remark made by a parent at a child's
2 naughty behavior. Thus although the "law" may be impersonal and phrased as
3 if it came from the external world (Life, Nature, History, Fate, custom, good
4 manners, what people think -- and the necessity of being independent of what
5 people think, are all invoked) the administration of it and the need for it to
6 be administered are phrased in personal terms, whether a child or an adult
7 remembering childhood feels that "it was done for our own good" or that "it
8 was just because Father (or Mother) wanted it that way," i.e. it suited the
9 parents for personal reasons. ¹⁹ Practically, of course, Father (and Mother)
10 are the interpreters of the law, but they ought to be harassed executives, not
11 lawmakers. So, for instance, an informant remembers:

12 When I was eight or nine my mother, in a fit of exasperation, told me
13 that she had to break my will in order to bring me up. As soon as she
14 said this I felt that, since she never could break my will, it didn't
15 seem worth constantly fighting her as she was only doing what she had to
16 do ...

17 Among the justifications for having a single head to the family it is
18 said that if there were not a single decision-maker (and this grants that

19 19. The problem of the personal and the impersonal is one that continually
20 preoccupies Germans. So, on the one hand, while a person may be criticized
21 because he always "takes everything very personally" (i.e. feels that all
22 criticism is directed at himself), on the other hand the sense of taking a
23 personal interest, of having a personal relationship is extremely important.
24 The problem of personal relationships to people and to things is one aspect
25 of the deep anxiety about the development of "Massemenschen" -- mass people --
26 out of the German "Volk." Ideally, what is personal ought to be without self-
27 interest. This was made especially clear in the 1920s when one way of dividing
28 political parties was in terms of whether a party was a Weltanschauungspartei
29 (a party that represented a philosophy) or an Interessenpartei (a party that
30 spoke for a special interest group) and a favorite criticism of an opposing
31 party was that its philosophy was a mere facade -- it was not a Weltanschauungs-
32 partei, but in fact a Interessenpartei using philosophy as a mask for private
33 interest.

1 decisions are necessarily arbitrary at times) nothing would ever get done --
2 witness the continual bickering that is necessary to get anything done in a
3 family! -- and that children do not know and if left to themselves will
4 certainly do everything the wrong way so that they must be guided by a firm
5 and single hand. In these terms, decision-making is a duty that is forced
6 upon the head of the household for the sake of others; it is an arduous
7 occupation but, if carried out well, gives the household firmness (Halt) and
8 ensures some measure of harmony.
21

9 Rodnick (1948) emphasizes the warmth and affection that characterized
10 the relationship of fathers and small children whom he observed in Hesse.
11 In fact, this is not incompatible with the more usual description of the father
12 as a strict disciplinarian. During the child's preschool years the father
13 is a somewhat distant figure in that he takes little part in the care and
14 education (Ersiehung) of his sons and daughters, but when he does approach
15 the child it is he, rather than the mother, who is likely to be tender, playful
25

16 20. A common complaint is, however, that a person in a superordinate
17 position "never listens." This is a point made repeatedly by Germans who
18 participated in American-organized seminars and group discussions.

19 21. Thus there is a tendency to repudiate pleasure felt in taking the
20 initiative and in exercising strength and power for its own sake. Nevertheless,
21 it is possible for a man to grow up with great feeling of individual-
22 ity and to identify with a father who, although strict and demanding, acted
23 with independence and initiative in moving away from his own family, and who
24 regarded himself as an individualist for doing so.

25 22. In German terms strictness is not necessarily synonymous with
26 severity.

27 23. This is, of course, not peculiar to German culture, but characterizes
28 the relationship of father and young child in western European cultures in
29 general.

1 and indulgent. During these years (unless things go very wrong -- and then
 2 it is the mother who is blamed) the father is tender and the mother is the person
 3 who regulates life and habituates the child to Ordnung.²⁴ So, when the child
 4 is older and the mother calls in the father or threatens to call him in to
 5 discipline the child (as she also uses the figure of St. Nicholas as a threat
 6 to the naughty child), it is at least in part the child's faith in the father's
 7 benevolence that is destroyed.²⁵ The mother's betrayal of the child to the
 8 father (when she joins with the father against what the child regards as its
 9 own interests) is a second step that follows upon an earlier disillusionment.
 10 Thus, as the child grows towards school age there is a realignment of the
 11 powers of control: the mother relinquishes some of her control to the father
 12 and, in so doing, makes it clear that she is the father's subordinate, so that
 13 the child learns within the home the limitations of the individual's position
 14 in a hierarchy. And as the child learns -- from the mother -- that (just as
 15 previously it had to be good in order to earn the mother's affection and
 16 gentleness) it must now be good in order to regain the father's pleased bene-
 17 volence, it also learns that there is an ever-spreading effect of punishment
 18 from those nearest to those furthest and most powerful.²⁶

19 24. For a nightmare image of the strict mother and the tender father,
 20 of. Schultz (1951, pp. 99-101), quoted below on pp. 35-36 of my paper on
 21 "Parents and Children: An Analysis of Contemporary German Child Care and
 22 Youth Guidance Literature," in which the writer describes the marriage of a
 23 "witch" and a "rabbit-man."

24 25. This seems to be indirectly echoed in the fairytale situation of the
 25 father who, after his wife has died, brings home a wicked step-mother. In
 26 these stories, however, the father remains an ineffectual figure.

27 26. On this point, cf. my discussion of attitudes towards punishment in
 28 "Attitudes towards Wrong-Doing and 'Making Good Again,'" below.

1 At the same time there are two other sets of people who, in general,
 2 continue in their friendly and indulgent relationship to the child; these are,
 3 on the one hand, the grandparents and, on the other, parents' brothers and
 4 sisters (especially unmarried ones who do not have parental responsibilities
 5 that may modify their attitude towards children in general). Grandparents do
 6 not have any direct responsibility for the upbringing of their grandchildren
 7 and therefore, it is said, they can afford to be more indulgent. (This tends
 8 to be the view taken by parents.) But grandparents are also "visitors" in
 9 their children's homes and one of the ways in which they can gain entry and
 10 maintain their position is by consolidating their relationship to the grand-
 11 children. This they tend to do through indulgence -- so that one has an
 12 impression that grandparents (having no pre-established position) bribe their
 13 way into their grandchildren's hearts with goodness and use their prestige
 14 with their own children as a way of getting their own way. Thus the hierarchy
 15 is extended outside the household (but still within the family) and children
 16 learn that, in time of trouble there are those who can shield them (or at least
 17 mitigate the punishment meted out by parents), and that, when things are going
 18 well, there are those who will give them rewards beyond the ones given by
 19 parents. But in the end, it is found that this depends upon keeping the
 20 right to the grandparents' indulgence -- upon being "good" in their eyes.

21 27. For a discussion of such a relationship on a personal and a political
 22 level, cf. Louis Ferdinand's descriptions of his and his brother's relationship
 23 to their grandfather, the Kaiser, on the one hand, and his occasional remarks
 24 about the relationship of the Imperial family to the populace of Berlin
 25 -- particularly his comments (pp. 26-28) on the interfering inter-
 26 mediaries who prevented the exploitation of popularity (The Rebel Prince,
 27 passim).

The role of mother's and father's brothers and sisters (where it is not, as may also be the case, a pseudo-parental one) is somewhat different and I shall discuss this in another context.

Siblings are supposed to stand together and, in facing the world outside the family, they are likely to do so. A good deal is made of keeping up appearances in this respect. However, within the family, sibling rivalry -- especially between brothers and brothers or between sisters and sisters --
28
is encouraged rather than discouraged. Children are expected to share their toys and occupations as a way of learning how to live in a group. Between brothers and sisters this does not create great difficulties in the play group of small children (since toys are, to some extent, sex-typed and therefore brother and sister do not in fact share the same toys but can -- if they get along with one another -- combine them in joint play); but between brother and brother or sister and sister, there is generally considerable bickering. The lesson (or one of the lessons) which the child is supposed to learn is how to
29
do without the things it cannot succeed in getting for itself. The "harmless" opposition of brothers, when they are young is also regarded as a way of strengthening their character, and German men generally do not hesitate to describe their antagonistic relationships with their brothers. So, for instance, Louis Ferdinand writes about his quarrels with his elder brother, Wilhelm:

28. Compare the handling of rivalry in Louis Ferdinand's account of his childhood (*The Rebel Prince*, *passim*) and in Elisabeth von Gutenberg's account of her own childhood (during approximately the same period) in another part of Germany (*Holding the Stirrup*, 1962, *passim*).

29. The usual punishment (and one that is recommended in terms of its character building effect) is to take the object of dispute away from both children if they cannot settle their quarrel by themselves. Each child may, however, strive to get the adults on its own side and against its opponent.

1 Although my brother had a rather mild temperament and did not take advantage
2 of his position, the antipathy was there and even increased the older we
3 grew ... I cannot absolve those responsible for our education for the
4 unhappy situation that developed. They not only failed even to bridge
5 the rift but sought to deepen it by encouraging our antagonism. I remember
6 quite clearly rows with my brother which invariably ended in fist fights
7 and bleeding noses. The grownups who witnessed these conflicts made no
8 attempts to pacify us. On the contrary, they frequently incited us to even
9 harder combat, evidently having the time of their lives watching the
10 two little cocks fight it out. To them it appeared to be a harmless thing.
11 Actually it severed the ties between two small souls. (p. 18)

12 He then goes on to comment about his own two sons:

13 To Kira's and my great satisfaction there is not a vestige of antagonism
14 between my two eldest boys, Friedrich and Michael, now thirteen and twelve
15 years old, respectively. They squabble, heckle, and frequently fight,
16 but they are inseparable. Though Friedrich is much taller and stronger
17 than his younger brother Michael ... he never tries to impose his authority
18 as a first-born on his brother or his sisters. Neither Kira nor I would
19 stand for such a thing. (p. 20)

20 In the first passage quoted the relationship is shown as it was seen through a
21 younger brother's eyes (and incidentally the eyes of a brother who eventually
22 supplanted his brother); in the second passage it is a father speaking. The
23 fact is that (according to Louis Ferdinand) the two boys in the elder generation
24 were also "inseparable" until they became university students. Between sisters,
25 the rivalry and antagonism are to some extent muted because girls are supposed
26 not to fight openly; but sisters no less than brothers stress the differences
27 between themselves and the others.

28 The most intense and enduring and perhaps the happiest relationship in
29 the German family is that between brother and sister. Brother and sister who
30 are close in age are mutually protective, especially against the adult world,
31 and can trust each other with confidences that would otherwise be unshared.
32 Ideally it is a relationship in which the sister gives much more than the
33 brother, but he in turn feels respect as well as affection for his sister that

30

1 he may not develop for any other woman. Without having much real authority
2 an elder sister has a quasi-maternal relationship to younger brothers, and an
3 elder brother is likely to be something of a hero in the eyes of a younger
4 sister. During the years of adolescence, when -- traditionally -- boys and
5 girls are rather strictly separated from each other and speak about each other's
6 activities as of an unknown world, the relationship between brother and sister
7 provides the one certain continuity between the childhood play group and the
8 group of young adults, for the sister is the one girl of his own class and
9 background whom the brother is likely to know intimately and continuously from
10 childhood to adulthood. In the family stories of juvenile fiction, brothers
11 are likely to choose a wife from among younger sisters' friends; in reality
12 it would seem that brother and sister's friend are likely to have a romantic
13 relationship -- which does not necessarily or even regularly end in marriage.

14 30. The brother-sister relationship is the prototype for a relationship
15 between boys and one girl that appears to have developed in German schools
16 where there are mixed classes. For the most part boys and girls (but especially
17 boys) are "ashamed" to have anything to do with the girls in the class, but
18 occasionally there may be one girl who is selected, as a young informant said,
19 as "the class girl -- someone everyone admires" who provides communication
20 between the two groups of children. In the boys' eyes, however, she performs
21 an even more important function: she has to try to cover up for those who do
22 not behave and must be willing to give her lessons to be copied by those who
23 come to school unprepared. In Speyer's Kampf der Tertia (1927), the central
24 figure -- in a book about a boy's school -- is a girl named Daniela, a mysterious
25 feminine-tomboy figure, whose presence in the school is never explained and who
26 is depicted as extremely partial and fickle and also as, in the end, stronger
27 than all the boys together as she rescues them from a losing battle with another
28 group of boys. In a sequel to this story, Die Goldene Horde (1931) there is
29 a devious rivalry between the girl leader and the boy leader of the class, which
30 is so resolved that each is confirmed in his and her position, but the formal
31 leadership is returned to the boy. These two novels were the ones most often
32 cited as "books you have to know about" by informants who grew up in the post-
33 World War I period.

1 It is the deeply sentimental relationship between brothers and sisters that
2 tends to hold together the larger family after the children have left the
3 paternal home.
31

4 During early adolescence, when the play group of boys and girls (which
5 was made up of brothers and sisters and a few neighborhood children of different
6 ages) has broken up and separate groups of boys and girls have formed, the
7 relationship to the "best friend" of the same sex also becomes important.
8 In spite of interest among most adolescents in sports or other forms of youth
9 activities, there is a strong preference for going off with one other person --
10 the best friend. This relationship, at its best, counterpoints the rivalrous
11 relationship of brother to brother or sister to sister. For the best friend
12 is the nearest equal in whom one confides, with whom one shares enthusiasms,
13 with whom -- in the case of a boy -- one goes adventuring, to whom one confesses
14 one's deepest thoughts and one's doubts and troubles, and from whom one expects
15 sympathy and understanding and, sometimes, help. Unlike any other relationship
16 friendship is supposed to be mutually uncritical. Friends may disagree but
32

17 §1. The devotion of brothers to sisters and the admiration of sisters
18 for brothers is exemplified in the relations of siblings to the individual
19 who is looked up to as "head" of the family -- a position which, over a
20 period of years, may pass from brother to sister and back again (and may even
21 include an affinal relative -- the wife or husband of a loved brother or
22 sister).

23 §2. A person may, in fact, have more than one best friend. So, for
24 instance, a man described how, during the years when he was a Gymnasium student
25 (secondary school), he had one very close friend with whom he studied and
26 talked "about intellectual things but never about personal matters," and another
27 with whom he shared his "personal" life. Among girls intense rivalry may
28 develop between the two girls who are both the close friend of another.
29 (Comparable data on boys' triads was not obtained because no such set of friends
30 could be observed.)

1 they should accept each other; if the disagreement goes too far, the friendship
2 is likely to be broken off. In this symmetrical relationship between two boys
3 or two girls, each partner is supposed to be perfectly loyal to the other;
4 this includes knowing about and understanding but not passing judgment on the
5 other's acts, since passing judgment would place one in a superior position
6 to the other and so upset the delicate balance. 33

7 This ideal of friendship persists into adulthood but, in the case of boys,
8 actual adolescent friendships are likely to fade out as the two go on into
9 their "real" -- adult -- life. If such friendships do endure, they tend to
10 retreat in the private life of the individuals concerned, and are not conspicuous
11 because the two persons involved do not maintain the somewhat formal style of
12 other adult relationships. Among women, on the contrary, friendships of this
13 kind may continue through life, even outlasting long periods of separation.
14 These long-time friendships are easy to identify because of the open and easy
15 intimacy between the two women. Such friendships can be extremely stormy, but
16 as long as the belief in each other's loyalty and fundamentally uncritical
17 attitude lasts, the relationship is likely to continue, surviving the changes
18 that occur after the two women have married and have households that may be
19 conspicuously different from each other's.

20 However, the very fact that friendship is felt to be a symmetrical
21 relationship that is rooted in shared experience and emotion, makes it difficult
22 for adults to form new friendships that are regarded as having the same depth

23 33. For an example of different ways of handling a symmetrical friendship
24 relationship -- as outlined by children -- cf. my discussion of "Wrong-Doing and
25 'Making Good Again'..." below, especially the story of "The Lost Hat." In this
26 story the writers (boys and girls) described what can happen when one partner
27 upsets the even balance of a friendship.

34

as those formed during childhood and adolescence. For, unlike French friendships -- especially those between men -- which are formed on the basis of a community of interest (and so can be formed at any period of life and between persons who have little in common besides a particular interest in which they share), German friendships are based primarily on a community of feeling and trust in the other's emotional relationship to oneself: each provides a mirror for the other's feelings. In this sense, friendship -- which is formed outside the home -- can (in part) be classified with familial relationships as belonging to the private relationship system of the individual in which the true content is emotion and other kinds of interest serve mainly to channel and exemplify what is felt. Other types of relationship, based on mutual interest, may "ripen" into friendship, but they are also likely to be felt to be "empty" in comparison to friendship. In this sense, friendship is parallel to the relationship between brother and sister except that in the former the symmetry and in the latter the complementary aspects of the partnership are emphasised.

34. Kastner, in Das fliegende Klassenzimmer (a novel for young adolescents) describes a masculine friendship in which the two men who had "sat on the same bench together" are after years of separation reunited by a group of boys who admire and love each of them. The two are reunited in the school which they had attended and during the celebration, one of the friends tells the boys: "... Do not forget your youth. That sounds superfluous to you, who are still children. But it is not superfluous. Believe us. We have grown older and nevertheless have remained young. We know exactly, we two!" (p. 165)

II.

1 The central fact about German education (Erziehung) in the home is that
2 it is character education and that its focus is upon the training of the will.
3 The ideal of this education is to produce an adult individual who has so
4 completely incorporated his training that he can move around the world where
5 and how he will, untouched by opinion and responding to the good and automatically
6 rejecting everything that does not correspond to his internal image of what is
7 good and right which was built up through years of habituation. However, since
8 "Life" sets hard tasks and there is always the danger that one's own impulses
9 may get the better of one, it is necessary to learn how to master difficult
10 tasks, how to forego easy and desirable pleasures and how to accept or master
11 suffering in order to achieve and maintain full adult status. The education
12 of the child consists in teaching it -- by means of example and habitual practice
13 -- a set of principles and in training its will so that conformance with these
14 principles will be entirely "natural." Instruction in skills and the acquisition
15 of knowledge are secondary to this aim insofar as they follow and are dependent
16 upon character training. In this there is no fundamental difference in the aim
17 of education (Erziehung) for the boy and for the girl. The upbringing of boys
18 may be somewhat stricter than that of girls because boys are harder to bring
19 up and because boys are expected to produce more and are subjected to greater
20 hardships in life than girls. The difference is rather in the skills in which
21 they are instructed and in the kind and amount of knowledge which they are
22 expected to acquire. Thus occupational training is defined as masculine or
23 feminine but character training is not (or at least is much less clearly)

1 differentiated.

2 A person's capacities are inborn -- God-given and/or inherited, depending
 3 upon one's point of view -- and, as such, everything that a person is able to
 4 accomplish comes from within. Ordinarily this means that the individual's
 5 capacities must be awakened by some other person and that education involves
 6 reaching the individual's inner life (Geist and Seele, both aspects of the inner
 7 personality). Yet since everything comes from within, the exceptional person
 8 may have intuitive knowledge of things for which others require training, and
 9 the very exceptional person -- the talented artisan, the creative artist --
 10 is able to rise above circumstances that are ordinarily determining, i.e. a
 11 harsh or impoverished or uncomprehending environment, sickness and weakness
 12 and infirmity, even a misformed character; in this respect Germany's great
 13 artists (as one reads and hears about them) are like the suffering fairy tale
 14 heroines and the youngest-son fairy tale heroes who prove themselves and rise
 15 triumphant either because they master suffering or because they do not recognize
 16 situations in which ordinary people suffer. The romantic ideal of life and

17 35. In this connection it is not without significance that child care
 18 manuals discuss upbringing in terms of "the child" (das Kind) without
 19 differentiating between "the boy" and "the girl" -- and give examples of good
 20 and bad behavior for both; similarly, youth guidance manuals continually refer
 21 to "youth" (die Jugend -- a term for which there is no adequate translation
 22 into English) including in this term adolescents of both sexes and giving
 23 examples of both girls' and boys' behavior (but with greater differentiation
 24 in the content of examples than is the case when "the child's" behavior is
 25 exemplified). It is not my intention to suggest that the actual content of
 26 the behavior discussed is not different (in some respects) for boys and for
 27 girls (this appears to be taken for granted) but only that the same principles
 28 of upbringing appear to apply equally to both.

29 36. It should be noted, however, that the figure of Goethe as "bel ideal"
 30 provides an almost complete contrast to these other figures. Goethe's struggles
 31 were either internal or were played out in his creative writing.

1 The belief in the value and excitement of adolescent rebellion -- and the very
2 real sense of loss that adolescent dreams cannot be fulfilled or must be foregone
3 in favor of unoriginal and prosaic occupations -- are based on this conception
4 of the individual's inborn capacities which he (or she) can draw out and develop.
5 The thing that is not at all clear is whether the individual is born with a
6 certain combination of good qualities -- which must be awakened and developed
7 -- and that weakness or evil result either because the work on the good qualities
8 has not been done or because bad qualities have later been implanted; or
9 whether the individual is born with a double set of good and bad qualities,
10 some of which must be fostered and others of which must be uprooted or at least
11 made ineffective. Images suggesting both types of source occur (often in
12 descriptions given by one individual). What is clear is that specific capacities
13 (for good or else for good and for evil) make their appearance at certain ages
14 and that education in part consists in preparing for and in part in making
15 use of these at the proper time. 37

16 In spite of a belief in the capacity of the gifted person to initiate his
17 own development or to teach himself to rise above his training (or lack of
18 training), 38 development (Entwicklung) is essentially a response to initiative

19 37. Thus one writer on child care (Plattner, 1952) indicates the different
20 ages at which a parent may expect such qualities as "the love of truth" or the
21 ability to see reality, or the capacity to "understand a command" or to "accomplish
22 a task" to become operative; and another writer (Hetzer, 1947b) indicates that
23 it has been statistically substantiated that whereas 6% of children of six years
24 are boasters and liars, at the age of 10-12 the proportion rises to 29%.

25 38. In this connection, however, see Nelly Hoyt's discussion of Karl May's
26 relationship to his grandmother and father (in "Karl May: Living a Dream . . .",
27 below) as this was described by May and by German writers about May -- where
28 May's ability to rise above his own weaknesses are attributed to the indirect
29 effect upon him of both the father's and grandmother's characters.

1 taken by another person (in the first instance, the parents) or to the parent
2 left when no initiative is taken. In the latter situation everything is almost
3 certain to go wrong: children who are left to themselves without instruction
4 or who are permitted to take the initiative (without previous training) are
5 assumed almost invariably to do the wrong thing, even when they are approaching
6 adulthood. For this reason children must, above all else, be taught to obey
7 their elders and must be made to obey consistently and continuously until,
8 from long habituation, they are able to obey themselves, i.e. until their will
9 has been trained and put at the service of what is understood to be good and
10 right and desirable. The exercise of free will (by the adult) in these terms
11 consists not in making a choice between possible alternatives but essentially
12 in being freed from the necessity of choice by the "spontaneous" and/or
13 stubbornly resistant selection of what is understood to be right or correct.

14 There are two major crises in the child's development, both concerned
15 with the growth and training of will. One, the so-called period of stubbornness
16 (die Trotzperiode), occurs when the child is two-and-a-half to three years old
17 and is of relatively short duration if it is properly handled. This is when
18 the child discovers its self (sein Ich), discovers that it can set its own
19 goals and strive to attain them, and tries out its new-found powers by opposition
20 to its elders in every way, large and small, and by tantrums when it cannot
21 have its way or if it is forced to accept things it does not want. The second
22 crisis occurs at adolescence, coinciding with the child's sexual awakening
23 and its rapidly increasing capacity to form attachments to people and ideas
24 outside the home and its awareness of and interest in the adult world.

1 This second crisis is essentially a repetition of the first but on a
2 much larger scale and with very different and far more complex content; in
3 both, however, the focus of the child's attention is upon its own self and upon
4 its own efforts to strike a balance between inner impulse and the outer
5 environment unhindered by the rules and regulations imposed by settled adults.
6 Although during the first crisis little or no difference is made in the
7 discussions of its manifestations among girls and boys, the second is quite
8 sharply differentiated. Both girls and boys are described -- during adolescence
9 -- as moody and subject to swings between exalted romantic flights of fancy
10 and melancholy self-doubt; both are (during the early years at least) attracted
11 by idealized, somewhat older members of the same sex; both are given to extreme
12 secretiveness in relation to their family; both indulge in "silly and fantastic"
13 behavior. But the manifestation of this crisis is considered to be much more
14 violent in boys than in girls; the phrase "die Jugend muss sich austoben"
15 (youth must have its fling, must exhaust its fury) applies to boys rather than
16 to girls. As conceived of by Germans, the period of "youth" extends from the
17 early 'teens until approximately the mid-twenties; the period of the crisis
18 of the will begins rather early in this time and may be of shorter or longer
19 duration, but it must be lived through if the adolescent is to become a full
20 adult. If the child's will was "broken" during the first, childish crisis, it

21 39. So, for instance, an informant in her early twenties described how
22 she had attempted to skip past the Backfisch (girlhood adolescence) period and
23 begin her life career at a young age. Her family had been forced to flee from
24 East Prussia at the end of World War II and she wanted to become independent
25 and self-supporting. Before long, however, she said that she could not carry
26 out her chosen career training, could not settle down to "serious" life because
27 she had missed an essential step. She then proceeded to become a Backfisch,
28 later than one would expect for a girl like herself, but with good results.

1 will be endangered during the second one; but likewise, if its will was not
2 held within bounds during the first, the second one is also likely to be
3 dangerous since the child's powers have been weakened by self-indulgence, etc.
4 Success in the education of the will depends upon adults giving the child
5 stability and support (Halt) and providing regulated order (regelmässige Ordnung)
6 during the crises of the will as well as at other times, for only in this way
7 can the child develop inner stability (innere Halt) and an internalized sense
8 of order (innere Ordnung). Contemporary educators believe this can be done by
9 three means: (1) by so completely training the child before the explosive crisis
10 of self-recognition occurs that it will -- "without thinking about it" --
11 continue to accept the main rules of life; (2) by providing an extremely stable
12 and unchanging environment, which, for the adolescent includes inducting him
13 (or her) into a good work situation; and (3) by keeping the child's confidence
14 and trust -- without which the adult cannot have insight into the child's
15 problems and ideas and, consequently, ceases to exercise a controlling influence
16 over the situation.

17 Ideally, the well- educated child is tractable (folgsam) and pliant
18 (fügsam) and willing (bereitwillig) -- except during the crises of the will.
19 From the point of view of parents , however, tractability and pliancy and ready
20 willingness are difficult to achieve; parents have to fight against unwillingness
21 to be educated for at almost any time a child is likely to become stubbornly
22 resistant and then must be forced into acquiescence. From the viewpoint of the
23 person being educated, this is experienced as a kind of physical invasion of
24 privacy: The image which is repeatedly given is that of a beleaguered fortress
25 or an entrenched position closed to influence from without. Auflehnung --

1 the usual word for "rebellion," -- literally means to lean up against; the
2 beleaguered rebel resists a breakthrough by leaning toward and warding off the
3 attack.
40

4 The closed impenetrable fortress is a reversal of the images used for a
5 good relationship, which is characterized by imagery of penetration, especially
6 of seeing into another person.
41 The good parent and the good child can look
7 into each other's eyes and see love, or joy, or sorrow, or amusement, or
8 honesty, or generosity, or even a deeper mystery. The small child can be
9 read easily and the parent, in making a judgment, takes little chance that he
10 (or she) may be proved wrong, but by the time the child reaches school age it
11 has learned to keep secrets and is capable of duplicity and dissimulation,
12 and by the time it reaches adolescence it may have a whole world of its own
13 about which the parents know little or nothing and, additionally, it has
14 learned how to protect this world. Then the parents can be even less certain
15 of their power of insight (are less certain that they know and are right about
16 what they know) and force may be a relatively ineffective means of penetration.
17 This is a stage of development when the child may readily question the parent's

18 40. This interpretation was obtained from postural images, from the
19 postures taken by informants as they attempted to describe and illustrate the
20 meaning of rebellion. The idea is a static one; the content of the behavior
21 may, on the contrary, take a great variety of active as well as static forms:
22 i.e. "when you are rebellious you close your mouth and say nothing"; "when I
23 was rebelling against my father I took piano lessons, of which he disapproved";
24 "my brother always ran out of the house ..."; "I would shout back at my father";
25 "the only thing we could do was to go into our room, close the door and sulk";
26 "I would do everything I had to do in an exaggerated way"; "I went around
27 looking dirty and unkempt"; and so on.

28 41. There is a characteristic difference, however, in the imagery used
29 by adult and superordinate and child and subordinate. For whereas adults and
30 superordinates look at and into the child and subordinate, the child and
31 subordinate say that the adult or superior "does not listen."

(especially the father's) infallibility and rebel against his demand to be obeyed under all circumstances. In older German families (the families of informants who grew up before World War I), the child broke with parental authority in one of several ways: (1) the child kept its views to itself and outwardly conformed to the standards set by the parents; (2) the child aired its views and was discouraged by ridicule and threats; (3) the child aired its views in the form of a joke -- and in this case the parent might accept them; or (4) the child aired its views and was forced into submissive obedience. 42

In the first situation, the child felt (it is said) that the father knew but that there was nothing he could do and that, in fact, it didn't matter as long as child did what was expected. Indeed, Germans say that their parents were likely to know what they were thinking and were secretly rather proud that the children had ideas of their own. Speaking from the point of view 43 of the parents, an informant said:

They sort of expect the Sturm und Drang in their children. They expect their children to run counter to them and see no reason why they should make concessions because of that. But if it didn't occur, they would be surprised ... They act outwardly as though they were having trouble with their children going counter to them during adolescence, but the father who makes the biggest fuss in disagreement with his son often -- if you bring him into discussion -- quite honestly realizes that he was -- that he is glad his child is that way. At least he'll come out with that ambivalent attitude toward it. That's the way he was and that's the way they /are/. They're not too terribly surprised that there isn't accord from generation to generation. I think parents expect there won't be, but nevertheless don't act according to this expectation.

42. These are also the possibilities suggested by younger informants today. Any one of these alternatives may, of course, characterize the behavior of one individual at different times or under different circumstances.

43. This informant was an American who worked very closely with a variety of German religious groups, who interviewed parents and children and lived in a number of German families shortly after World War II.

1 Thus the parents expect the children to have developed independence of mind
2 but nevertheless to continue to behave as if they agreed with their parents --
3 as long as they are at home.

4 In the second situation, in which the child aired its views and tried
5 to talk about what it would like to do or how things ought to be done, informant
6 described how the parents would respond by saying, "You don't know anything
7 about it," or "Life will teach you otherwise," or "Wait until you try it out,
8 experience will teach you to change your ideas," etc. One informant, a woman
9 who felt that her family life was exceptional in that it had been harmonious
10 in spite of disagreements and arguments, considered that this continual
11 belittling of the adolescent's dreams and new ideas (which characterized her
12 own parents' behavior) gave them the feeling that they would never achieve
13 adulthood and discouraged them from trying to "make anything new realizable
14 and practical so that in the end they just gave up and did what everyone else
15 did."

16 Rather more rarely, informants said that they might be able to get away
17 with saying or even with doing something providing they found some way of
18 phrasing it as a joke, i.e. not as something to be acted on seriously that
19 might undermine the father's position. "Then," said one informant, "my father
20 might accept it. So I was always working very hard, trying to think how to
21 make these jokes -- because my father would get the point and wouldn't mind."
22 Father and son are here engaging in a kind of double talk with themselves and
23 with each other as a way of getting around a difficulty.

44

24 44. This informant was a young man who had a very intense reaction to
25 all discussions of German "authoritarianism" and who felt that he had a very
26 heavy-handed father. The family was anti-Nazi but did not (or could not) leave
27 Germany.

Nevertheless, there was a general expectation that on some occasion the father (or, less likely, the mother) would "make a big scene" or would "make an example" and bear down with his full weight -- "und dann gab es aber auf einmal Krach" (and then suddenly there was a roar, or crash).⁴⁵ It seems to be the echo of these memorable, but not necessarily frequent, experiences that keeps German children in line, that gives them the impression that fathers shout (which they are quite likely to deny when they hear a stage-acting "German father" shouting), that makes them feel that they are being bullied⁴⁶ into submission.

From this it appears that the young person learns and continually has confirmed that there is a necessary split between independence of mind and independence of action. That is, he learns that it is safe -- and even desirable -- to disagree with others in one's own mind, but that the expression of disagreement depends upon one's relative position to those to whom one is talking. To one's best friend one may say everything, although what is said should not be phrased so that it will appear to be a judgment of the friend; with one's colleagues one may disagree, but since this is likely to lead to

45. Germans differentiate between such scenes as these and the bickering or nagging that they feel are a part of everyday life in the family.

46. An example (from a juvenile novel) of such a scene is given in another paper ("The German Family ..." by Rhoda Métraux, pp. 27-29). In this scene (as opposed to informants' accounts of actual occurrences) the father speaks very quietly and the whole of the family take the father's side and join in trying to make the erring child (preadolescent) give in to the father.

Shouting at subordinates who then shout at their subordinates, or having the person shouted at who just previously has shouted at others, are frequent comic devices in German films. A momentary silence is more likely to be used in a serious or tragic situation. Apparently this is a silence that speaks louder than words.

1 endless wrangling, it is safer to keep one's opinion to oneself or, at least,
2 not to state an opinion in a situation in which discussion will follow.
3 In relation to those who are lower than oneself in a hierarchy, one becomes
4 the person who "knows," but one's own position of infallibility is difficult
5 to maintain. Thus, a modern German father explains his relationship to his
6 father and to his children:

7 I do not emphasize /my authority/. I know it better because I am
8 a father... One of the things that impressed me most ... when I was
9 five or so, I overheard my father speaking to his brother about something
10 which had happened where his brother said that in some argument that I had
11 had with my father I really had been right, and my father said that he
12 had realized it later on, but he felt that it was more important to
13 maintain the principle that a father had to be obeyed under all circum-
14 stances ... which was disturbing to me and which led to the fact that I
15 always emphasize to my children if I make mistakes and they happen to be
16 right, I do not care to be right, in the way that my father emphasized it
17 -- that just because I am the father, therefore I am infallible.

18 Nevertheless, speaking from the point of view of the child, German informants
19 feel that, whatever they may think, the expression of disagreement with the
20 father (or another superior) may lead to distortion and may serve to emphasize
21 the weakness of one's own position in contrast to the strength of the person
22 opposed. "Therefore, outwardly, you conform."

23 The young person has learned that security lies in being both autonomous
24 and submissive. But in accepting this, he violates an underlying principle
25 of German education, namely that the individual should become "a whole person,"
26 that he should "be what he is altogether." It is clear that this is not a
27 compromise position, but one in which two forms of behavior are carried on
28 simultaneously and the necessity for maintaining such a position is placed

29 47. American observers of German meetings (and some Germans who have
30 participated in American meetings) repeatedly emphasize how the formal organiza-
31 tion makes any kind of discussion difficult: "Each speaker has his say when
32 he gives his paper -- and that is that."

1 in the external world: submission has been forced upon the weaker person.
2 To protect this security it is necessary not only to exhibit submissiveness
3 but also to convince oneself -- and others -- that the person who forces one
4 to submit is strong and able to crack down whenever necessary.

5 The acceptance of this autonomous-submissive position is based not only
6 on adolescent experience; it has been built up from earliest childhood in the
7 double training which the infant and small child is given in obedience and in
8 control over its own body -- both of which require the development of disciplined
9 self-control. ⁴⁸ On the one hand, the child is taught obedience by techniques
10 of habituation to a fairly rigidly imposed systematic order (Ordnung) and, at
11 an early age, learns to associate a whole series of related activities with
12 one command, e.g. "It is time to do your lessons," or "It is bedtime, get
13 ready for bed," so that order and obedience means following out a whole patterned
14 set of activities triggered by one phrase. (It is a common complaint of German
15 parents that children are forgetful and have to be nagged into getting through
16 such a series -- until they have learned "thoroughly"; it is a common complaint
17 of children that parents go on repeating things that "we know already.") The
18 things a child is not to do are more diverse, so that it seems to be more
19 difficult to pattern them -- and there is at times a flow of comment, "Don't
20 do that," or "I've already told you to stay away from that." Parents and
21 children (and the experts who write about them) give the impression that the
22 number of things not to do and the number of mistakes that can be made are
23 without limit, for they do not fit so well together as the patterned things-to-

24 48. For a more detailed discussion of childhood training, cf. "Parents
25 and Children ... " below.

1 and often interfere with carrying out the correct pattern. On the other
2 hand, the child learns that it must control its own body and its reactions
3 to accidents that happen as it begins to walk and run and climb and explore
4 the physical world and to the pain that is part of growth. Parents are
5 cautioned not to restrict their children's physical activities too greatly,
6 for only by hurting themselves and experiencing the consequences of their acts
7 can they learn to be strong and self-reliant and to bear the inevitable suffering
8 associated with "mastering the tasks set by Life."

9 Consequently, where the earlier childhood education has been more or less
10 successful, the adolescent has learned both to obey quite automatically and to
11 be relatively self-reliant. So, for instance, outside of larger cities, parents
12 do not hesitate to allow twelve or fourteen year old children ^{to} go off in pairs
13 or groups for two or three-day or even week-long trips which the children
14 themselves have to organize and pay for out of their own savings. (It may be
15 added, however, that they have learned how to organize such trips from family
16 excursions and/or from excursions taken by school groups.) Parents feel
17 relatively assured that the children will neither come to serious harm nor get
18 into serious mischief. Like the Wandervögel of another generation (who were
19 an older age group), children going off on their own can exhibit their good
20 behavior and their self-reliance. ⁴⁹ The fact that children -- adolescents --

21 49. Turning back to the Nazi propaganda film, Hitlerjunge Quex (cf. Bateson,
22 1945), it is not without significance that the crucial scene in which the
23 little hero (who has been shown to live in a disorderly and disorganized
24 world and to have inadequate parents -- a father who cannot bear pain and a
25 mother who cannot take over parental responsibility) chooses to become a Nazi
26 takes place in the outdoor excursion world. First of all, this is a world
27 apart from parental (and in general adult) authority and forms of behavior;
28 but secondly, in this juvenile world Heini (the hero) is given the choice
29 between a group who take advantage of their situation to be vulgarly self-
30 indulgent and sexually lax, who represent juvenile disorder (the "Communists"
31 of this film) and a group who surpass adult standards of neatness, cleanliness,
32 order, etc. Moving outside his home, Heini chooses the group to which the
33 ideal adolescent belongs.

have demonstrated that, left to themselves, they are no longer "sure to do the wrong thing," does not materially affect their situation at home or in school or at work as young apprentices. There they are still learners who "have not achieved anything yet" and their self-reliance is not matched by activities in which they take responsible initiative. Rather, initiative is defined as doing of their own accord the things which are expected of them.

Self-doubt and a belief that one is not anything yet (a belief that is repeatedly drilled into the ears of the young) help make the autonomous-submissive position a very tenable one for the adolescent, irrespective of whether he has had a good or a poor childhood education. The sense of the unfinishedness of the adolescent emerges very clearly from a description by Wenke (1952) of the problems of the refugee youth who have been separated from their homes and families. Describing those who come from a disturbed background he writes:

There / in the refugee situation / we find the permanent, gradually strengthening effect of disorder as an actual reality. One has to expect to find an adolescent who has adjusted himself to this existing disorder with all the consequences of danger, neglect and ruin. In most cases the relationship and fatal interaction between inner impulse and outer influence -- that is, of character and situation -- are quite apparent. Inferior parents have children with inherited burdens and taints and at the same time they in their own way create a milieu to which such children are highly susceptible. If they cannot get out of this circle, if they are not taken out of this road by resolute help, the permanent injury becomes irreparable. These children and adolescents cannot help themselves of their own accord not only because the necessary impulse is lacking but also because they do not recognize the danger in which they stand ... (p. 110)

Yet according to Wenke, those adolescents who have had a sound upbringing are, initially, no better off than the others:

A completely different picture emerges when external fate suddenly removes from the young person the order in which he has hitherto lived. Just because he previously knew an orderly life, he is at first entirely helpless and does not arrive at a meaningful meeting with life. If, as is generally the case, the loss of order also puts him into economic difficulties, then he can find no support in the airless room and without

1 help he would rapidly founder. It might be thought that he would have
2 greater reserves of strength than the person who had already grown up in
3 disorder. That is true, but the ability to assert or maintain oneself
4 can first make its appearance if the vacuum is put aside and a new order
5 has been found. At first the shock is too great. And the shock is greater
6 because the adolescent not only has lost outer order and now faces nothing-
7 ness but also because he mourns for everything that was dear to him,
8 that belonged to his life, that fulfilled him, to which he clung: his
9 parents, his siblings, his friends, his home (Heimat). But if he succeeds
10 in arriving at a new meaningful meeting with the world, then those strengths
11 will grow again which in his earlier life had developed happily and richly
12 and which were only shaken, not destroyed. They will now help him to
13 overcome his fate internally and to build up a new life. (p. 111)

14 Thus the adolescent, no less than the young child, needs guidance if he is
15 to succeed in becoming a full person. Traditionally, it is the father who
16 criticizes, who combats the adolescent's willful behavior, who --- in the end ---
17 succeeds in producing a citizen who has a job and marries and accepts "the
18 tasks set by Life." But as the child grows up, the parental sphere of influence
19 is narrowed down: the child goes to school, becomes an apprentice or (if he
20 goes on with his education) becomes a university student, and in each of these
21 situations the child comes under influence other than that of the parents. So,
22 for instance, a fourteen year old boy talks about being punished for misbehavior
23 in school:

24 Interviewer: What does your father say when you are punished in school?

25 Informant: When I was punished in school? I usually didn't tell him ...
26 So I usually didn't tell him about it until a few days later. A few
27 days later I dared to tell my parents, "Well, everyday I get kept after
28 school but I get lots of fun out of it." My father got a little bit
29 angry but he said, "As long as you get punished for being -- for not being
30 good, it's all right with me, as long as you get punished ..." My father
31 said, "I'm glad I don't have to do it, as long as the teachers do it ..."

32 And an adult informant remembers when he went to the university at nineteen:

33 The moment I left for the university my father said: "In the future
34 I won't tell you anything and you will do what you want, and suffer
35 what you must if you make mistakes." I think it was the average German
36 attitude on the part of the father.

1 So the father accepts substitutes for his own authority -- in the person of
2 the teacher (and others) and in the pain which the young individual suffers
3 when he makes mistakes. The father does not abdicate; he simply is not on
4 on the scene.

5 The figure of the adult teacher-father or teacher-mother who completes
6 the education of the young individual outside the home is one with a long
7 history in German culture. But since World War I a new educating figure has
8 appeared in German literature of various kinds: a younger man who stands ⁱⁿ an
9 intermediate position between that of a father and that of an adolescent, who
10 is outside the home, and who is able to win the confidence of boys because he
11 himself "has never forgotten his youth." ⁵⁰ This man is not necessarily
12 especially young himself (professional youth leaders are frequently men in their
13 thirties or even older), but he is unmarried and he is frequently a somewhat

14 50. Striking illustrations of such leaders appear in novels and in youth
15 guidance writing and in other writing on social problems since World War I,
16 but no special attempt was made to look for earlier depictions of such figures.
17 It should perhaps be added that there is another traditional figure that, in
18 some respects, corresponds to the young leader; that is the figure of the faithful
19 retainer who is (quite often) a subordinate of the father but who guides the
20 young man into the right channels by means that are within the expectations
21 of the son rather than the father. A figure of this type appeared in several
22 post-World War II movies that were seen and analyzed: in two films the man
23 was an army sergeant, in one he was an old family servant, in one he was a
24 fellow-employee, and so on. A difference between the faithful retainer and
25 the young leader is that the former is (1) clearly related to the father figure
26 involved; and (2) is also subordinate to the young man whom he guides. The
27 young leader, on the contrary, is semi-independent or wholly independent and
28 he is superior to the young man whom he guides. Where the faithful retainer
29 wins the son to good behavior by clinging to him and setting aright what the
30 young man does wrong, the young leader attracts the young man to him and they
31 are won over to the idea of good behavior in which they themselves exercise a
32 certain initiative.

1 In adolescence, the alternatives were traditionally either to engage in open
2 rebellion which often terminated in extreme isolation, or to accept the
3 autonomous-submissive pattern which then was carried on into adult life. The
4 relationship to the young leader is essentially one in which the young person
5 combines getting away with it and confessing and making good -- but avoiding
6 public punishment and the spreading effects of punishment.

7 The young leader was of course one of the very prominent figures in the
8 Nazi organization of Germany, and his position -- as it was interpreted by
9 various analysts of German culture and character (e.g. Bateson, Erikson) --
10 was defined as that of an elder brother, the leader of a rebel gang opposed to
11 father and to the virtues of adult life. However, as he is pictured in the
12 literature of the 1920s (e.g. Kästner's and Speyer's novels) and in recent
13 youth guidance and pedagogical literature, he is rather clearly a kind of
14 junior father (sometimes he is literally a father's younger brother) who is
15 dissociated from the immediate family, who encourages the young in all kinds
16 of semi-illegal exhibitionistic feats, but who is, in the long run, working
17 in the same interests as the father. This does not mean that he is actually
18 allied with the father, but rather that he accepts more or less the same values.
19 Bridging the child's world and the adult world, he stands for theoretical
20 values that are lost when the adolescent must combine independence of thought
21 with submissive behavior, i.e. for the development of an individual whose
22 thoughts and actions are an entity, who is so well trained that, rather than
23 wasting his will in futile opposition or sinking into apathy, he is able to
24 conform and fit in willingly into an adult life of duty and service and to
25 feel that he is doing so as an autonomous and spontaneously acting individual.

In his role of youth guidance expert, the young leader is clearly related to the adult, parental world. However, in his attempts to create or restore family life by caring for the problems of the delinquent or disturbed child (the child who has gotten into trouble and who, from the parents' viewpoint, has become unmanageably bad), the expert also appears as a reformer of adult behavior. His method of reform is indirect for he does not tell parents what they must do in order to have good and manageable children who will prosper and become adequate adults; instead, he teaches parents how to educate themselves. A slogan which occurs repeatedly in manuals to be read and used by parents (whether of small children or of adolescents) is that the education (Erziehung) of a child begins with self-education (Selbsterziehung) of the parents. The parents no less than the children must so incorporate their ideals and their training that they can act wholly "naturally." The younger leader-adviser shares in their ideals and shows them how they themselves can realize them with their children.

52

Thus it would seem that, in one sense, the young leader makes it possible for childhood to be prolonged almost into adulthood and for a much greater

53

52. It should be added that the masculine expert-adviser is concerned primarily with children in the adolescent age group -- at least insofar as the writers of manuals depict themselves in the examples which they give.

53. At the same time, it is nowadays believed that certain aspects of education that were traditionally undertaken during adolescence, during die Reifejahre when the boy (and to a lesser extent the girl) was given an explanation (Aufklärung) of sexual life, should be pushed back into earlier childhood and that the child should, by slow learning, become habituated to correct notions about adult sexual life. A great German anxiety is that the child will be frühreif -- prematurely sexually aware; where in the past an attempt was made to prevent this by strict training and ignorance, the attempt is now made to prevent it by teaching the prepubertal child how it should behave later.

1 part of the adolescent's life to be included in the educational process
 2 (Erziehung) than when character education is mainly limited to the family,
 3 but, in another sense, there appears to be developing -- through the young
 4 leader (who is in some cases "the expert") -- a rather specialized adolescent
 5 education in which rebellion and opposition to family values and the whole
 6 second crisis of the will are used to integrate the adolescent into social
 7 life outside the family and at the same time preserve family values.

8 From the foregoing discussion, it will be apparent that the image of
 9 the youthful leader does not wholly coincide with the version with which we
 10 were familiar in the 1930s. However, it is an image that precedes and continues
 11 after the special Nazi version. And it is my hypothesis that this figure is
 12 an adolescent version of the image of the father known in earliest childhood
 13 -- the father who stood outside the confines of the small world in which the
 14 young child was being trained by the mother, the father who was at the same
 15 time playful and indulgent with the young Stammhalter (son and heir), who
 16 could joke and who jokingly called his child the very names which he used
 17 later in anger (Dickkopf, Schreihaals, Strampelpeter, etc.) and also, proudly,
 18 kleiner Mann -- little man -- according him in miniature the status he is so
 19 loath to grant his growing son in later years. This early father is the one
 20 who has not yet accepted serious responsibility for the upbringing of his child,
 21 the father who is, in fact, the thorn in the side of the mother, for he permits
 22 and encourages behavior which the mother will have to stop. It would seem
 23 that, with the displacement of grandfatherly figures who combined prestige

24 54. See for instance in Bondy and Byferth (1952), *passim*, the descriptions
 25 of the desirable househead in various kinds of adolescent homes.

1 with indulgence of grandchildren, a new masculine image of an indulgent and
2 yet educational figure has been emerging, who is on the side of life rather
3 than of death.

4 For, essentially, as I have said, this leader has considerable resemblance
5 to the Einsiedler -- the outsider who has accepted his position at the periphery
6 of the social group. The alternative to acceptance of this position -- in
7 German tradition -- is for the person who has been removed or who has removed
8 himself from the social group to commit suicide, not in order to escape, but
9 on the contrary as a way of getting back into the group. 55 Suicide, in German
10 terms, is the ultimate way of "making good again" so that through death the
11 erring individual is reintegrated into the group against which he rebelled.

12 It has been pointed out that, for Germans, the end of adolescence is
13 in itself a kind of suicide, in that at this time, when the young man and
14 the young woman accept the responsibilities and duties of adult life which are
15 gray and drab by comparison to the dreams of adolescence, they are renouncing
16 a future which they have come to recognize is unrealizable and that this is
17 felt to be a death of one aspect of the personality.

18 It would seem that in a world in which the time-span is more limited
19 and in which it is accepted that one is unlikely to become an indulgent
20 grandfather, i.e. to pass from being a harassed executive to the top of the
21 ladder of the hierarchy, the newer young leader -- no longer isolating himself
22 -- promises a future when, if no one is very important, nevertheless those
23 who are men can "remember their childhood" and in so doing bring adolescent
24 and adult values (in which both share) closer together.

1 This is, of course, an interpretation of something which seems to exist
2 mainly as a possibility. Only work on German culture in Germany itself can
3 indicate whether it is a possibility that has promise of realization and what
4 forms such realization may be taking, especially where the very persons who
5 might be filling such a role are absent or appear to be dissociating themselves
6 from responsible, ongoing life.

WORKING PAPERS

Introduction

- Rhoda Métraux

1 The following six papers, each a critical summary of one aspect of the
2 work on German culture and national character structure, are designed to give
3 more detailed accounts of particular types of material that went into the
4 making of this analysis and to indicate how these were treated in collaborative
5 work by Nelly Hoyt and myself. They are intended to serve as background for
6 the main discussion and to provide the reader with a series of images of German
7 culture derived from a variety of sources. They do not, however, cover the
8 entire range of materials used as sources, but only certain ones which, it
9 seemed to us, might be less familiar to students of contemporary German
10 culture or which (in the case of the analysis of German children's story
11 completions) provided insight on a particular point from material not readily
12 available to someone making a study of a culture from a distance. In addition,
13 the background materials included a study of German adult fiction beginning
14 approximately with the period of the first World War, analysis of a number
15 of post-World War II German films seen in New York and a restudy of the Nazi
16 propaganda film of 1933, Hitlerjunge Quex, which had first been analyzed by
17 Gregory Bateson in 1942-43, and considerable work on contemporary German

18 1. This work had been done by myself during World War II in the course
19 of work on German civilian morale problems, and was only brought up to date
20 by further analysis of post-World War II novels and biographical writing.

21 2. Cf. Bateson 1943 and 1945. Bateson's analysis of this film contains
22 some of the major theoretical points about German character structure, expressed
23 in terms of the Nazis' portrait of themselves contained in this film. It is
24 an essential document for anyone working on problems of German culture.

1 social problems as these were seen both by Germans and by Americans and others
2 working in Germany. A brief study was also made of our German newspaper,
3 Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschafts Zeitung, which was read for content and
4 expression of attitude over a six month period in 1952. All of this was
5 conceived of as background material for work with German informants, which
6 was done by Nelly Hoyt and myself.

7 The several papers included here illustrate also the two viewpoints that
8 went into the making of the study -- that of an anthropologist and that of a
9 social historian -- and so give an indication of the formal collaboration
10 between the two participants in the study even though each of the papers was
11 written up separately.

12 Taken as a whole, the papers provide a series of self-images of German
13 character and personality seen at different periods and from different
14 positions within German culture. The first paper, based on analysis of current
15 books on child care and youth guidance, presents attitudes towards education
16 expressed for the most part by psychoanalytically oriented "experts" in popular
17 books intended for use by parents and other persons charged with educational
18 responsibilities; in this paper an attempt is made to assess expected roles of
19 parents and children.

20 Two papers then follow on German youth literature, using books which
21 are currently read in Germany but many of which were read also by the parents
22 and grandparents of the generation now growing up, i.e. by those who, in the
23 main, were our informants on German culture. The first of these, on the family
24 novel, gives a composite picture of the family as it appears in such books and
25 discusses a number of recurrent themes related to the family that are parallel
26 to themes found in other materials studied. The second paper is a discussion of
27 one writer, Karl May, whose adventure novels are the prototype of the German

1 youth literature of adventure; this paper describes the novels and the under-
2 lying themes and indicates the place in German culture given to Karl May, the
3 author-hero, by German literary critics. From the two papers there emerges a
4 double image of "the German" as he is presented to young readers (who may read
5 both types of literature at approximately the same age) -- the ideal member of
6 a family group and the ideal individual, adventuring in a world of his own making.

7 The next two papers summarize work done on Die Gartenlaube, a family
8 magazine which was published continuously from 1853 to 1937 and which was
9 familiar to all our informants -- whatever their attitude towards the contents
10 might be. In this study, Helly Hoyt concentrated especially upon the novels
11 that were published in the Gartenlaube in the mid and latter part of the 19th
12 century (as well as other "Gartenlaube" type novels by the same and other
13 authors) -- on the types of characters and types of plot that appeared in this
14 popular literature in an attempt to provide background and continuity for
15 contemporary self-images. One theme -- the reintegration of the outsider --
16 was selected for more detailed analysis here as this, it seemed to us, is one of
17 great importance in any view of German culture in the past 25 years.

18 The final paper is based on material collected in Germany in the summer
19 of 1952, by two American social psychologists, Gladys and Harold Anderson.
20 This also deals mainly with one theme -- the handling of wrongdoing in
21 fictional accounts by German children, where the children were provided with
22 the plots and themselves supplied the denouements.

23 The several papers here included were all written at the conclusion of
24 the study and so, implicitly, are based on the whole of the material, but each
25 is intended to stand as an independent unit illustrating the subject matter
26 of the final synthesis, for which I myself have taken the responsibility.

AN ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY GERMAN CHILD CARE
AND YOUTH GUIDANCE LITERATURE

- Rhoda Métraux

1 Modern German educators emphatically agree that all aspects of the
2 growing child must be seen as parts of the total personality
3 (Gesamtpersönlichkeit) and that each aspect -- the body (der Körper),
4 the mind (der Geist), the spirit (die Seele), and the character (der Charakter)
5 -- must be educated with equal conscientiousness (Sorgfältigkeit).²

6 This total education must begin in the earliest days of life.

7 Care for the spiritual (seelische) health from the first days of life
8 is just as much a necessity for the child as is painstaking physical
9 care. Extraordinarily much in its future life depends on the physical
10 and spiritual care of the child in its first months and years of life.

11 1. This study is based upon books prepared by specialists in child care
12 and youth guidance for the layman (parents, teachers, youth leaders, and others
13 concerned with education -- but primarily mothers). The books were selected
14 from among those available to German readers in bookstores in the summer of
15 1952 and from among those said (by booksellers and others consulted) to have a
16 popular sale. All of the books have been written within the past 30 years;
17 all those cited in this study (several more especially pedagogical books and
18 pamphlets were read for background but not cited) are new or have appeared
19 in new editions or new printings since 1947. One at least -- Eduard Spanger's
20 study, which was first published in 1924 -- continued to appear in new
21 printings during the Nazi regime and has been reprinted since. These books
22 follow one quite consistent trend in German thinking about child care and
23 youth guidance, a trend which was clear (especially in the pedagogical
24 literature) in the post World War I period of the Weimar Republic and which
25 is continued now in the post World War II period. Without further investigation
26 in Germany with German parents as well as with German experts, there is no
27 way of knowing to what extent such books as these are in fact used, are in
28 fact models of actual behavior. They are important mainly as they give us
29 insight into the experts' views of what models for parents should be and into
30 the problems which the experts, looking back at their own experience in
31 guidance, regard as crucial to the education of contemporary parents and
32 children.

33 2. In German Geist and Seele are terms with overlapping meaning, though
34 the first refers rather to the intellectual and the latter to the emotional
35 aspect of inner or spiritual life. Technically, Seele can be translated as
36 psyche; in ordinary speech it refers rather vaguely to inner life -- to all
37 that touches upon the core of the personality.

In earliest and early childhood the foundation is laid through a suitable direction of health -- which must always visualize the whole person, that is, body and spirit -- for the adult's health and ability to face life, as, contrariwise disregard (Missachtung) for the challenge (Forderung) of managing health (Gesundheitsführung) has as its result vulnerability to shock, weakness, and defective strength to carry things through (mangelnde Durchschlagkraft) in the battle of life. (Hetzer, 1947a, p. 5.)

Thus, one of the purposes of this early education is to armor the child to face life, or, as the same author suggests, it is the duty of the adult to see that

the growing powers of the child are guided towards the fulfillment of the tasks (Aufgaben) which it must master (bewältigen -- also means to overpower) in life. (Hetzer, 1947a, p. 7.)

Education, from the beginning, is goal-oriented, but the goal is a general rather than a specific one: the child is to be educated to face "life" and the problems and duties (Aufgaben has this double meaning) posed by "life."³ It is to ensure this desired result that educators urge upon parents the necessity for the most conscientious care of every aspect of the total personality.

In thinking about education, Germans formally distinguish between two aspects of the process: Ersziehung (upbringing), which is concerned primarily with the development (Entwicklung) of the child, i.e. with character formation, and Unterricht (instruction), which has to do with imparting information and with laying the groundwork of skills on which, at a later age, knowledge and technical skills are based. Ideally, the two aspects of education are linked

3. One may contrast this view of the care of the infant and the small child with that expressed by comparable French writers who stress the delicacy of the newborn and the dangers that surround it in the outer environment and who urge upon parents the need for the most conscientious care because of the slowness with which the infant adapts itself to the outside world. (Cf. Métraux and Mead, 1963.)

Best Available Copy

is the concept of Bildung, for the cultivated man (der gebildete Mann) combines an extensively educated spirit and mind -- self-discipline and higher education. Not everyone can achieve Bildung, but Lebenstüchtigkeit (the ability to meet life's problems) is an educational goal attainable for almost everyone, since this is mainly dependent upon upbringing and concerns character rather than knowledge.

Traditionally, parents are responsible primarily for upbringing and combine this with instruction mainly insofar as it concerns the home, while teachers are responsible for more formal instruction. For the well brought up child who does well in school, there is little need or occasion for contact between the adults in the home and in school. Life also is a teacher (German parents say -- especially to adolescents: "Life will teach you..."), and life sets tasks and tests for the young person in which he must be able to display autonomy (Selbständigkeit) -- which has been learned especially in the course of his upbringing. For the young man or girl, as also for the school child, meeting the situation depends upon firmness of character (Halt); mastery -- whether this consists in accepting a situation or in overcoming it -- is possible if one can will something sufficiently. Thus, a young German scholar, inveighing against the "mechanical selection" of American college students by means of batteries of "impersonal" tests, insisted that such tests "do not take into account how much someone wants to do something" and quoted the proverb "wer es will, kann es auch" (whoever wants -- wills -- to do something, can do it). From this point of view, even where intellectual training is concerned, character formation is central and primary in German education.

Best Available

1 which is a lengthy process, beginning -- as upbringing -- in earliest
2 infancy and continuing, although in diminishing and altered forms, well
3 beyond the years when the young individual begins to regard himself as autonomous
4 and beyond the time when (although this varies much with social class and
5 occupation) he is partly or wholly economically independent. "Die Jugend"
6 (youth -- with reference to an age group) is a rather elastic term as it is
7 used in German but tends to include both the group of those who are adolescents
8 and an older group (from about 18-25 years), who in one way or another are
9 already partly or fully involved in their life work.
10

11 Discussing the legitimate demand of adolescents to be regarded not as
12 children but as an age group with specific characteristics and demands and
13 needs and the "romantic" aspirations of youth to be "something very special,"
14 Spranger(1951) writes:
15

16 The high flights of selfvaluation and the demands on life
17 / made by a young person / are screamingly incongruent with the
18 true situation of the youthful person. As yet, he is in truth
19 nothing. Even given the greatest freedom, he would still be nothing
20 as yet. His productivity is limited to presentiments. His will is
21 not yet firm (fest), his judgment is not sure (sicher), his feeling
22 is not moderated (gleichmässig -- symmetrical, evened out). He
23 dreams of world travels and returns from his first job "outside"
24 after a quarter of a year, disillusioned. His adventurous plans
are stranded on the disenchantment (Ernüchterung) of his helplessness.
(p. 134)

25 4. The phrase "die Jugend" may be used generally to cover the whole
26 period (about 14-25) or more especially for the adolescent group (14-18),
27 but composite words including "jung" or "Jugend" are used in reference to
28 the older group (18-25): die jugendliche Arbeiterin (the young working girl),
29 das Jugendverein (young people's club), and so on. The youth of different
30 social classes differ in the kind of independence that has already been
31 achieved (so that different groups cannot be directly compared with one
32 another) but have in common a sense of incompleteness.

33 5. Spranger's book, Psychologie des Jugendalters, (of which the 1951
34 edition is the 22nd printing) was first published in 1924. The passage
35 quoted here has not been changed from that in the 8th printing (1947), the
36 earliest with which comparison could be made.

...and the viewpoint of the expert writing as an adult, the adolescent
and young person -- in spite of his high self-evaluation -- is "in truth,
nothing." That is, he is not yet an adult and, if his strivings are to be
realized and his aspirations fulfilled in adult activities, he must still
be educated until his character (will, judgment, feeling) is finally determined.

During the whole period of small childhood, the school years, early
and late adolescence the individual may be subject to education (Erziehung
and Unterricht) and, in the later -- adolescent -- years, he is in the process
of testing out and adapting himself in terms of his education. Youth is the
long period when one is first growing out of childhood and then, later, growing
into "real life" (das eigentliche Leben). And traditionally, upbringing,
which was begun in the home, was -- especially for the boy -- completed
outside the home as part of die Jugend. Then adults other than the parents
might have a moral as well as an intellectual or craft responsibility for
the training of the young individual, for the apprentice, for the young
Knecht on a farm, for the young businessman learning his business in a strange
city, for the student in a university away from home.

In the past 30 or more years there has been continuing controversy (at
least among educators) about the respective responsibility of home and school
for the upbringing (Erziehung) of the younger child still in school

6. There is in German a whole literature dealing with the formation of
character more or less in this age period and with young adulthood, the
so-called Erziehungsroman -- novel of character development, or the Entwicklungs-
roman which also deals with development. For an extremely idealistic novel
of this type of the mid-19th century, cf. Stifter's Der Nachsommer (which
has recently been republished in a new edition). In the post World War I
period, both Hesse's Demian and Mann's Der Zauberberg, however different they
are, fall into the same category, although Mann's novels are generally
regarded as Gesellschaftsromane -- social novels.

(von Schulkind). In the Nazi period a radical attempt was made to transfer the major responsibility for the upbringing of the school child and youth from both home and school. But at present (as during the Weimar Republic) the controversy continues between those who emphasize the importance of the traditional upbringing in the home and those who see the need for the school (and other types of organization) to take over at least part of the task of character formation as a way of preventing character deterioration and of implementing desired social change.

One of the deep anxieties of the 1920s -- about the dangers inherent in the development of the mass-person (der Massenmensch), who was pictured as a mechanized person without individuality or will and so no longer fully human -- has taken a new form in fears about the destiny of the "youth-without-ties" (die bindungslose Jugend), i.e. the masses of young people living and looking for work or working far from their homes and the influence of their parents. Significantly, their basic problem -- at least in one study -- is seen to be one of character, and the suggested solution is one in which Erziehung is central -- as a way of making up for the earlier

7. Thus an informant, who is sharply critical of German education, discussed at length the struggle between her schoolteacher sister and other teachers in a progressive North German school, where the sister is endeavoring to alter the character structure of the pupils by the use of new text books and new kinds of school activity against the steady obstruction (according to the informant) of other teachers who say this is not their task -- they are there to instruct the children.

8. Thus in Georg Kaiser's Gas I (a post-World War I play) the person deteriorates into a hand or a foot or an eye, becomes a lever or another part of a machine -- with catastrophic results. Or, in Metropolis, an automaton is substituted for a living person, again with catastrophic results. German artistic productions of the 1920s reflect very clearly the anxiety about Massenmenschen -- mechanized, mass-people.

1 education that was incomplete or ineffective. Writing about groups of these
2 young people living in various kinds of "homes" as refugees, as jobseekers,
3 business, apprentices, young industrial workers, etc., Bondy and Eyferth
4 (1952) say:

5 We call them "youth-without-ties" for many are lacking not only home
6 and work but also ties to the family and, indeed, true ties with people
7 altogether, ties to their work and to spiritual worth; in the final
8 analysis they are lacking a sense of the meaning of their lives. They
9 have become mass-people with all their characteristics: their isolation
10 and lack of direction, their pleasure-seeking and restlessness, their
11 fear and hopelessness. They are unhappy even if they do not clearly
12 know it. (p. 5)

13 And further:

14 They are incapable of making their own decisions; they have no firmness
15 of character (Halt); they show no readiness to take over responsibility;
16 they lack the will to come to terms spiritually with the affairs of their
17 life, and they are unaware of the motives of their actions. So in many
18 respects they show the characteristics of mass-people. (p. 55)

19 The authors describe these young people as "prematurely ripe and pure
20 materialists" (frühreif und reine Materialisten) -- pleasure-seeking (that is,
21 impulse-controlled) and interested in immediate reward (that is, eager to
22 earn and spend money at once rather than willing to discipline themselves to
23 further -- less immediately rewarding -- training at useful occupations).
24 Without further educational care (Erziehung), they foresee a dark future for
25 this youth:

26 9. In some respects the picture given of these youth-without-ties closely
27 parallels the picture of the Communist youth given in the Nazi propaganda
28 picture Hitlerjunge Quex, with the difference that the present group is
29 portrayed as unorganized and apathetic and apolitical. One interesting point
30 is that, although they are said to be work-oriented, one of the main difficulties
31 is that they do not have the right attitudes towards work. (cf. Bateson's
32 discussion of Hitlerjunge Quex, 1945.)

Our worry is that from the youth without work and without home there will be developed people-fully-without-ties. That would mean that they would lead a meaningless, impulse-directed, unfulfilled life. They would only too readily be ruined (verwahrlosen -- spoil through neglect) and would become criminals and that later perhaps their children would grow up just like their parents. (pp. 34-35)

To prevent this personal and social tragedy, these writers see the need for the development of leaders who -- from the examples cited -- would combine the role of parent and ideal educator outside the home, and whose task it would be to turn the various institutional "homes" (Lehrlingsheim, Jugendheim, Erwerbsheim, Industrieheim, Berglehrlingsheim, etc.) into true homes built on personal relationships and shared activities and shared values -- all fostered by the leader (s) of the same and -- at least in boys' homes -- opposite sex as their young charges. Thus, in a new transformation, it is clear that home and a parent-surrogate are regarded as central to the proper development of youth.

Many of the same kinds of character faults and difficulties are discussed by psychologists who write about the problems of individual children for the enlightenment of parents and others engaged in upbringing. Here again the emphasis is upon the failure of family education, but whereas in the case of the youth discussed above the criticism was implicit, it is made explicit where individual parents and individual children are concerned. So, for instance, Seelmann (1952) writes:

10. In fact, discussions of the problems of children and young people who are away from or have no home are rare in the child care and youth guidance literature as such. On the contrary, the authors write as if every child had a home and only rarely cast a side glance at "times like ours" or any aspect of life outside the home. As far as they are concerned in their books, the child is prepared within the home for life outside the home, and only life's misadventures outside the home are cited as examples of what happens when education is neglected or misapplied (e.g. in the case histories of sexually miseducated children given in Seelmann's book on sexual education of the child).

Only very seldom do children come to the clinic the origin of whom
difficulties in education (Schwererziehbarkeit) can be linked to
biological inheritance or physiological injury... For some reason
they / otherwise healthy children / have not succeeded really
becoming members of and in living themselves into the family group,
and for this reason they also have not succeeded in becoming a member
(Einliederung) in comradeship, friendship, kindergarten, school, youth
group and in apprenticeship. Through this life has become difficult
for them, they themselves have become difficult, and it has become
difficult for parents and educators to bring them up. (p. 186)

With rare exceptions the difficulties, as they are described by the experts on
child education, go back to the family and to miseducation by the parents. The
onus for the child's problem or bad behavior is placed on the parents whose
methods have resulted in making the child ineducable, in any good sense, at
and outside the home. So, in the end of his study of sexual education and
miseducation, Seelmann has the following to say about the youthful criminals
who corrupt and seduce other lonely, unwanted, over-curious, oppressed, or
greedy problem children whose education has been a failure:

Most of these perpetrators were badly or wrongly brought up children.
They gave those who brought them up various kinds of difficulties.
They were reprov'd and often severely punished. But all this had no
effect because they received no real understanding and above all did
not have the educational climate that they needed. They felt themselves
pushed out of the way, misunderstood and without help. And so they
developed a striving towards secretiveness and experienced the benefits
which they were denied in abnormal ways because they could not obtain
them in normal ways. If today a large proportion of these culprits is
between 14 and 25 years, it is because these young people were denied,
during the war and post war period /World War II/, an orderly family
atmosphere, goal oriented upbringing (Erziehung) and direction (Führung)
and a loving guidance to the right life. (p. 187)

Family life and the parents are, in German thinking, almost exclusively
decisive for the education of the child, and family education (Erziehung)
is preparatory for all else in education in that character formation takes
precedence over other kinds of learning. For good or for bad, children become

1 But their parents make them, is an underlying theme of the expert advice.

2 So, for instance, Plattner (1951) writes:

3 Many people are of the opinion that there is "much too much
4 bringing up." They would rather "not bring up" their children at all.
5 Clearly by upbringing they understand the attempt to form the child,
6 but forget that there is no such thing as "not-bringing up" (Nichterziehen).
7 Every word, every act, whether in dressing, in housework, in earnest
8 or in fun, everything the child sees and hears of us in the course of
9 the day works on it -- well or badly, it works. As long as we breathe,
10 as long as we live, we educate our children for better or worse, as long
11 as our child lives with us. (p. 6)

12 And the first lesson for the parents to learn in reading the experts' books
13 is that they must educate themselves to be educators. True motherliness or
14 the ability to be a genuine educator are regarded as instinctive and/or as an
15 aspect of the personality of certain individuals. Some few people who are
16 gifted, are able to act with a sureness based on their own instinctive
17 knowledge. But others -- by implication, most parents -- have to learn, have
18 to make themselves into good educators of their children. This, then, is
19 where the expert comes in: not to supplant the parent, but ^{to} help the parent
20 towards self-education and to rescue parents and children whose education has
21 gone amiss.

22 Like the authors of cautionary tales for children (of which the most
23 famous is perhaps Der Struwwelpeter, which has been given by fond relatives
24 to small children for more than 100 years) and like Knigge in his book
25 Über den Umgang mit Menschen (a book on correct behavior in interpersonal
26 relations written in the late 18th century, a new edition of which was issued
27 in 1952), the child experts educate, at least in part, by means of the warning
28 example and by promising parents that they can learn -- without suffering --

1 By knowing about the difficulties and suffering of others. Parents are
2 taught how-to-do-it by learning how-not-to-do what others have done. In the
3 foreword to her book on Mistakes in Education (Erziehungsfehler, 1947b)

4 Hetzer writes:

5 / In this book / an attempt is made to show how mistakes in upbringing
6 are made in life and to advise ways in which these mistakes can be
7 avoided. Not all the many different mistakes in upbringing could be
8 discussed, but only a small number of them which, because of the
9 frequency with which they occur and the seriousness of their consequences,
10 deserve special attention. That which is important -- namely the right
11 understanding for questions of upbringing -- can be awakened by such
12 a sample from the totality of mistakes in upbringing. The practical
13 examples given are partly from experiences in the work of the educational
14 adviser / the author of the book / ... (p. 5)

15 And Plattner (1951) recommends her book to her readers because

16 One can become clever through the harm that has come to others and
17 through this avoid much that is wrong; one can make useful for oneself
18 the good ideas of other people and thereby lighten one's own burden;
19 both to the advantage of the children. (p. 6)

20 By showing how some parents and children behave -- inviting disaster from
21 which they can be saved only by the intervention of the expert who then sets
22 them onto the right track -- the guidance books show that if parents educate
23 themselves to be educators they will have a happy family life and a healthy
24 child and -- by implication -- no need for help from outside the home. 11

25 Unlike the experts, who can produce rapid and lasting changes in the
26 relationships between parents and children and so in the behavior and character

27 11. These books -- where the "bad" person is anyone (even possibly
28 oneself) -- provide a contrast to didactic literature of the Nazi period
29 and to the attitudes of this period when the enemy was named and classified
30 and was (for the good Nazi) someone not myself. But they express equally
31 clearly the need to dissociate oneself from undesirable characteristics --
32 which one would have if one did not behave otherwise. (Cf. Bateson, 1945.)

1 of the children, the parents who are pictured in their books are, by and
2 large, neither omnipotent (in the sense that they are not able, by their own
3 methods, to accomplish the desired end) nor omniscient (they are unable to
4 see what their children's problems are or what they themselves are doing
5 wrong). On the contrary, the opportunities for making error appear to be
6 countless ("not all the many different mistakes in unbringing could be
7 discussed") and parents -- no less than children -- are likely to make many
8 of them if they do not bring themselves consciously to be educators.

9 This education of the educator (Erziehung zum Erzieher) consists not
10 merely in learning procedures and precepts (for people -- and children --
11 are too different from one another for hard and fast rules to apply), not
12 merely in applying learned principles (for mere knowledge is an active
13 impediment to "natural" relationships); rather, what is learned must be
14 incorporated into the person's own life in such a complete way that it
15 fosters a "natural living-together of parent and child." So, for instance,
16 Hetzer (1947b) warns:

17 There is a great difference between whether the child accompanies
18 its mother in the daily routine, helps here and there, just as
19 the mother helps it to pick up the fallen doll carriage, and then,
20 when she sees it is necessary, uses some express educational measure,
21 or whether the mother "gives herself up to the education of her child,"
22 thinks from early until late what could be good for the child, continually
23 hovers about to observe and watch over it, spends the day pulling at
24 the child, so that there is no more time for her and the child to
25 live together naturally. There where, in the second case, there is no
26 real life relationship, even the most tested methods of education are
27 of little help. The child will somehow be stunted, even though one
28 attempts to do the right thing as far as fulfillment of precepts is
29 concerned. For in these circumstances, the child lacks the ground
30 (Grund -- ground or basis) of common life with the adults in which,
31 in order to succeed in later life, it must strike deep roots. 12 (pp. 3-4)

32 12. Italics mine. Note that the child who is consciously educated is
33 a forerunner of the "youth-without-ties" in that it has not "struck roots" in
34 a common life with adults.

1 Thus the parent who has merely learned is no better off than the parent who
2 does not know; in both cases the child is likely to be a Sorgenkind
3 (a problem child). The parent's learning must be so fully assimilated that
4 it is "natural" -- that the parent need not think but can automatically
5 react to a situation and can do so wholly. This is one of the basic necessities
6 for trust on the part of the child.

7 It is clear from this that the German parent is not invited to learn
8 skills, which the expert is prepared and able to teach, but rather is expected
9 to become a kind of person. In this, German child care and youth guidance
10 books are strikingly different from those written by and for Americans (and
11 from French books of the same kind).¹³ Where the American mother¹⁴ is

12 13. The expert herself (or himself), of course, is assumed to have special
13 qualifications of knowledge and skills. In this respect the educator
14 (Ersiherer) outside the home differs to some extent from parents. But she
15 (or he) must no less be a pattern for those who are being educated. So for
16 instance Gamper (1952), in discussing "the influence of the camp leader,"
17 writes:

18 One of the greatest psychological powers (Kräfte) in upbringing
19 is the power (Macht) of examples, in the good as in the bad. It is for
20 this reason that surroundings (Umgebung), example (Beispiel) and
21 model (Vorbild) are of such determining meaning.

22 The camp leader takes a very prominent position as a model for the
23 children, even if the camp is only a small piece of life... The colossal
24 position as ideal which the leader takes on in the thought and feeling
25 of youth, one can only picture if one understands how to recall the
26 role played by youth leaders in our own life ... (p. 17)

27 Thus the expert and specially trained and skilled "leader" is no
28 less important, from the point of view of character, than is the layman
29 parent.

30 14. Cf. Wolfenstein, 1951, 1953.

1 given a great many explicit directions about what she is to do in carrying
2 out the daily routines of care for her child and the procedures of weaning
3 (and the kind of person she is -- or should be -- is more or less implicit)
4 this kind of very detailed information necessary for specific skills is
5 almost wholly lacking in comparable German books. (The main exception is
6 in sexual education, where, nowadays, German parents are told very specifically
7 what and how and when to tell their children; here it is acknowledged --
8 indeed emphasized -- that the parents are likely not only to have incorrect
9 attitudes but also to be uninformed or misinformed. But books in sexual
10 education are, like others, mainly concerned with Erziehung.) The subject
11 matter of German expert books is not what to do, but rather how to do it and
12 how to get the child to do it; that is, the content of the procedures is
13 secondary to the detail of method -- in the question of upbringing. ¹⁵ So,
14 in a chapter on "First Lessons in Upbringing" for the child in its second
15 year (Hetzer, 1947a), weaning and cleanliness training are discussed briefly
16 as examples of how to teach by gradual and continual habituation and, after
17 the briefest discussion of technique, the mother is told that she must be
18 patient and must expect differences in the speed with which different children
19 learn to be clean (Zimmerrein -- room-clean) (pp. 16-17). Similarly, the
20 first three chapters of another book (Plattner, 1951) -- about half the book --
21 are concerned with (1) obedience, and how to obtain it -- with examples,
22 (2) punishment, and how to administer it -- with examples, and (3) autonomy,
23 and how to foster it -- with examples.

24 15. One of the major differences between Erziehung and Unterricht is
25 precisely in the matter of content, for where content is secondary in Erziehung
26 it is primary in Unterrichtung. Informants invariably describe instruction
27 (in school) in terms of extreme attention to the detail of content.

On the one hand, it seems to be assumed that the parent can learn the details of what to do elsewhere and by other means and that individual differences are too great for specific procedures (as far as content is concerned) to be applicable to all. Thus, while the mother may be told that a child should have a good "natural" diet of healthy foods, only a few examples of such foods are given and no instructions for preparing them for the child. The emphasis is rather on how to get the child to eat well at the proper time, etc. And on the other hand, mere knowledge is not enough. For children will see through appearances:

Children will sense behind all the adult's knowledge, behind all the interesting details, the uncertain, unclear, compromising attitude of the educator and, because of this, will be unable to take over and build upon the natural attitude towards sex which the educator is only acting out for them. (Seelmann, p. 20)

Insight on the part of the child -- when this involves the recognition of a discrepancy in the adult -- is fatal to the educational relationship. Consequently, what is important is for the parent-educator to be a person who incorporates learning in own behavior and character and for the parent to have insight into the child.

16

The central character in the child care literature is the mother, but (in the books written by women) there are two mothers to choose between: the mother who makes mistakes with her children and the expert-mother who sets things straight and -- in the case of her own children -- never really lets them get out of hand. In the youth guidance literature (which may be written

17

16. The fact that German child care literature focuses on the mother-child relationship is, of course, not peculiar to Germany.

17. This reverses the fairytale situation of the good (but usually dead) mother and the wicked step-mother. In juvenile novels, however, the good step-mother who, after many difficulties, is recognized as good and lovable by the grateful children is one of the stock characters.

1 by a man) which concerns somewhat older children, the central character is
2 likely to be someone -- usually a man -- of rather indeterminate age -- but
3 of great experience -- who is able to achieve wonders through a quasi-comradely
4 relationship to the child or adolescent who is in trouble. ¹⁸ Thus in the
5 current literature on child care and youth guidance (some of it newly written
6 since World War II, some of it dating back to the 1920s) the views expressed
7 and the advice given are not so much those of two parental figures (mother
8 and father) as they are those of a mature, motherly feminine figure (who may
9 write in part about her own children) and a somewhat younger, emotionally
10 more distant, masculine figure. Though both stand in a complementary relation-
11 ship to those being educated, the experts are not, strictly speaking,
12 masculine and feminine versions of each other, and father (as an immediately
13 influential figure) has been eliminated. ¹⁹

14 The family, as it appears in the pages of these books, is decidedly
15 truncated. Although the experts emphasize the importance of unity between
16 the parents and of a full family life, the father appears only rather
17 distantly as a co-educator (Miterzieher) or, in examples of parental mis-
18 guidance and juvenile difficulty, as a worried or angry or outraged companion
19 of the mother or, summed up in a few phrases, as the second villain who

20 18. The comradely male educator is also a stock character in juvenile
21 novels: he is someone who has great influence for the good, but is not the
22 person in highest authority (cf. the novels of Kästner and Speyer).

23 19. For the male writer (with the partial exception of Spanger, who
24 writes from a rather lofty philosophical position) another, older expert
25 (perhaps the one who trained the writer) has a fatherly position. So, for
26 instance, Seelmann continually quotes "my teacher, Dr. Leonhard Seif"
27 (now dead) to whom his book is dedicated.

1 disturbs the peace of the home, who excites or spoils or spans the darling
2 or the naughty child. Other relatives, including other siblings -- where
3 a particular child is concerned -- appear in even more shadowy form. The
4 books are directed towards the mother, and are concerned with the relationship
5 of one mother and one child, who is presumably one of several in a family-
6 rich-in-children (eine kinderreiche Familie).

7 A recurrent image of the relationship of German parent and child is that
8 of the gardener and the plant. Thus stressing the inviolability of the
9 child's own personality, Plattner (1951) writes:

10 As little as we could make the smallest blade of grass grow if wonderful
11 powers of life did not work in it without our actions, as little as we
12 can turn grass into weed, just as little can we form our children.
13 We are gardeners, not gods. (p. 65)

14 And elsewhere:

15 Educators are not to be compared to artists but to gardeners who, with
16 much knowledge and experience prepare the ground and protect from harm,
17 but for the rest must patiently wait to see how their plants develop
18 of their own accord according to their own rules of growth ... Our care
19 should not lead to overfeeding, and the protective hedge around the
20 paradise of childhood must not turn into a hothouse. (pp. 162-163)

21 Or Hotzer (1947a), urging parents not to put off education until some later
22 time, but to begin with the young infant, writes:

23 This putting off is just as nonsensical as if a gardener were to wait
24 with the care, for instance the watering, of a bed which he has sown
25 until the plants growing out of the seed had broken through the earth
26 or until the plant's buds and leaves were clearly recognizable. (pp. 5-6)

27 Or Seelmann (1952) asks:

28 What about vulnerability to seduction (Verführbarkeit)? Must not
29 the ground on which the seed of seduction falls be specially prepared
30 in advance ...? (p. 175)

31 20. For a discussion of the English version of this image, cf. Mead,
32 1949; for a discussion of the French version, cf. Métraux and Mead, 1953.

1 Sometimes the child as a whole is likened to a plant (as in the first two
2 examples and, more doubtfully, in the next), but at other times the child
3 is rather the container in which plants grow and the plants themselves are
4 character traits, some of which are inborn in the child (Keim -- sprout --
5 is sometimes used as an image for these) and some of which are sown.

6 Thus Plattner (from whose writing the images of the child as a total
7 plant are taken) writes:

8 He / a little boy / without knowing it, was himself unhappy about
9 the weed / of envy and jealousy / which had grown in his heart. (p. 90)

10 Or:

11 Only when we sense that our child is moved, that it is opening the
12 little door of its heart and is listening to our words with all its
13 senses, only in such moments can we lay seeds in the childish heart
14 which later perhaps will grow. (p. 105)

15 Or:

16 In early childhood the ground is prepared on which later the riches of
17 the spirit can unfold ... Not on what we say but much more on what we
18 are does it depend whether the roots of belief in God reach down into
19 the dreamlike experience of earliest childhood. (p. 155)

20 Or:

21 Pride holds down the underbrush of vanity and prepares the ground on
22 which the love of truth can grow. (p. 125)

23 And sometimes the plant alters its quality as it grows. Thus Plattner writes
24 about education for truthfulness:

25 Everything that helps the healthy thriving of the child, helps prepare
26 the ground on which later the love of truth can grow. It is particularly
27 important not to damage the little child's pride. For the love of truth
28 is nourished by pride ... proud people without any educational intention
29 spread around them an air in which love of truth can grow and thrive.
30 What comes to life under their protecting hands is the spark of the
31 courage of conviction (Bekennenmut) ... This spark, in pioneering people,
32 becomes a flame which nothing, not even death and torture -- in a real
33 or in a symbolic sense -- can extinguish. (p. 130)

1 Here the child appears to be the container and the ground in which a plant
2 (the love of truth) will grow which, as it flowers, becomes a flame.

3 Another image which is associated with childhood and growth is that
4 of the step or stage (Stufe). In contrast to the image of the plant which
5 can thrive or be stunted, can be implanted or uprooted, pine away in
6 artificial light or respond to the natural light of the sun, the image of
7 steps is an entirely -- or almost entirely -- mechanical one. According to
8 ideas to which this image is related the child inevitably goes through a
9 series of stages of growth which are independent of experience -- though
10 the child's character depends on how it is treated at each stage, what use
11 is made of the particular stage of growth.

12 A third image is that of unrolling, unfolding, or of externalizing:
13 the common term for development (maturation) is entwickeln²¹ which, literally,
14 means to unroll (but is also used in photography to refer to the development
15 of a film); related terms are entfalten (to unfold or develop) and enthüllen
16 (to unveil, to reveal). Later development may be referred to as ausbauen
17 (building out) or ausbilden (to form further) -- which involve the idea of
18 improving upon something which already has a form; it is this that leads to
19 Bildung and here (as in other images that may involve instruction) the
20 emphasis is more on formation or on impressing form on the learner. The
21 image of the steps or stages is one of automatic growth; the image of
22 development is one of revelation of existing qualities. These two are commonly
23 used in close conjunction with the plant image -- so that we are given a total

24 21. It is not inappropriate to recall here that one term for the young
25 infant is das Wickelkind (the child rolled up in its swaddling clothes).

1 image (one might rather say mosaic, since the combined images are, in fact,
2 incongruous) of the child as being born with certain predispositions (Anlagen)
3 and innate qualities (Keim -- sprout is sometimes used for these), as having
4 to go through steps or stages of growth (Stufen) which are predetermined, in
5 the course of which there is a process of opening up, of revealing (Entwickelung),
6 and during which the parents work on the child -- preparing the ground,
7 fostering some qualities, implanting some qualities, removing and uprooting
8 others which may be innate or implanted, even creating ground (e.g. the ground
9 of personal relationships) in which roots can take hold and grow -- so that
10 it will reach a kind of ripeness at each stage and, finally, the ripeness
11 that is adulthood. The natural and the mechanical images of growth are, in
12 fact, combined in the image of ripeness, i.e. the child who is ripe to go up
13 the next step; the child who is prematurely ripe (frühreif) -- who has emotions
14 and ideas and experiences which it cannot handle adequately because 't is
15 as yet at too early a stage. One stage in growth is referred to as die
16 Reifejahre -- early adolescence, the years in which the child is coming to
17 sexual maturity. The most significant point about all this is that although
18 parents as educators cannot alter the qualities with which a child is born ²²
19 and each child differs from the next in the combination of qualities, its
20 character is formed under their guiding hand -- what will be revealed, what
21 will develop, depends upon the way in which they care for the plant, not

22 22. This is somewhat doubtful since some qualities seem to be implanted
23 in the course of development and the ground may be prepared for them in
24 advance. The glass splinter in the story of the Ice Queen has the same effect
25 of change of character. And, at another level, see in "German Children's
26 Stories" the plot versions where a change in character in a child follows
27 upon one act of an adult -- when the adult returns good for evil.

1 during the stages of growth to stunt or foster the qualities inherent in or
 2 implanted in the child. Thus the child is pictured as having potentialities --
 3 but these can be realized only as the adult acts upon the child.

23

4 There are several themes that interweave in the child care literature:
 5 (1) the child must learn to obey so that it is able to fulfill the tasks set
 6 by life and can be trusted to be alone without endangering itself; this
 7 obedience must become implicit and automatic; (2) the child must learn to
 8 become autonomous so that it can face life independently of others and also
 9 can enter into relationships with others and so that it can meet the trials
 10 of life; (3) the child must develop a sense of itself but at the same time
 11 must never become aware of itself as the center of attention; and (4) the
 12 child must be loved and protected from various kinds of danger but at the
 13 same time it must not be spoiled or weakened by "overfeeding" of tenderness,
 14 or by overprotection from reality -- lest it become helpless and/or frühreif --
 15 or by too great demands or by too few demands on its growing powers. Each
 16 of these themes plays into the other.

17 The world of the pre-school child is sometimes known as "the children's
 18 paradise" (das Kinderparadies) and it may be pictured as surrounded by a
 19 hedge -- with the implication that the parents control how much of reality is
 20 let in from the outside. This sense of security in an enclosed place is

24

21 23. For another example of the gardener-plant image of upbringing, cf.
 22 the passage from Marlitt's novel Goldelse (written in the 1860s) quoted below
 23 in Nelly Hoyt's discussion of the Gartenlaube novel.

24 24. Small children's stories, such as Sophie Reinheimer's Tannenwalds
 25 Kinderstube (The Pine Tree Nursery) are built on this theme. The general
 26 assumption is that small children live in a world of fantasy out of which
 27 they only gradually move towards reality, and that their reading during the
 28 earlier period -- or the stories most meaningful to them as told -- consists
 29 mainly of the fairytale variety. In this connection it is worth noting that
 30 in a recent study of Berlin school children, fairytales (Märchen) are said
 31 to make up 50% of the reading matter of 8 year olds (Haseloff, 1953).

found in informants' descriptions of a happy childhood, especially in the use of the word geborgen (which may be translated as "secure" but which conveys overtones of sentiment lacking in the English word). The ideal of small childhood is to keep this paradise a happy and contented one and at the same time gradually to prepare the child to leave it when it goes to school and meets reality outside the home. During this period the child should slowly get a sense of itself and of itself as a member of a group. About this, Plattner (1931) writes:

The way in which this first fitting in of the ego (das Ich) takes place is important for future life. If the little one feels its "being" of which it is first becoming conscious, as part of a larger "we" in which it knows that it is secure (geborgen), in that it receives what it needs and is allowed to give what it can, and so grows towards a personal life (Eigenleben), then it has everything necessary for a childhood paradise. (p. 111)

In order to become part of the "we-group" the little child -- when it gets out of its crib and play pen -- should not be kept apart from the rest of the family, but should have its own "play corner" in the room where Mother is and it should be able to accompany Mother at her work -- both as a form of companionable play and as a way of gradually learning to take over small duties. At the same time it is necessary for the child to learn to be by itself from the first days of life -- so that Mother can safely leave it without

25. So, for instance, a German-trained child psychologist, observing American day care centers during World War II, claimed that the small children in them were "unhappy" mainly because they were constantly being entertained with play and games and suggested as a therapeutic measure that they be allowed to take part in cleaning up and cooking, etc., which would make the day care center much more "homelike" for them. The idea that the small child should continually form part of the family group, that it should not live wholly in the nursery (Kinderstube), that the enclosed space in which it lives should be psychological rather than actual, is a definite change since World War I in middle class families.

1 being at its beck and call and without feeling that the child may be in
2 danger. This is one of the early lessons in obedience that leads to autonomy:
3 the child must learn to be able to be both alone and completely with people.
4 (Which also means that when the adult attends to the child, she must be
5 "fully" with the child but that the adult should not continually "hover over
6 and observe" the child or amuse it -- since this would spoil their relationship
7 and make the child demanding and dependent.) As a first step in this direction,
8 mothers are urged to let the young infant "cry it out" so that it learns to
9 control itself and also to enjoy food and companionship when they appear.
10 The mother may be warned that, for instance, the 5-7 week old child is
11 naturally a "screamer" -- because of the many new impressions impinging on
12 it -- but that the screaming will stop of its own accord as soon as the child
13 "masters" these new impressions, providing the adult is able to endure and
14 wait (Hetzer, 1947a, p. 15). In this way the parent, now as later, makes
15 use of a stage of growth as a training device for the child. Then the child
16 learns to accept companionship and care at specific times -- and, for the
17 young child, the care should always be given by the same person who does the
18 same things at the same times in the same way (as part of the program of
19 training by habituation); this is regarded as essential to the development
20 of trust, on which the parent-child relationship and especially the winning
21 of obedience is said to be based.

22 The successful training of the child depends on the adult being orderly,
23 consistent, patient (doing the same thing over and over until the child can
24 take over and do what is required of its own accord), and quiet. In beginning
25 this training, the parent can build on the child's own inborn need for order.
26 So Hetzer (1947a) writes:

1 The behavior of the newborn child very much favors habituation to a
2 definite order; one could almost say that the child obeys this orderliness
3 before we begin our upbringing to orderliness and that, if we do not
4 insist on the maintenance of order / i.e. a schedule / in the first
5 days of life, we take it out of this / natural / order ... It is
6 therefore understandable that the child learns to accommodate itself
7 quickly to the order we prescribe for it and that, there where we
8 destroy the natural order through irregularity, the child is brought
9 out of order so that one succeeds only with difficulty later in
10 accustoming it to regularity. (p. 14)

11 Thus the infant, in its first stage of life, is prepared by the parent to
12 accommodate itself to orderliness (Ordnung) and regularity (Regelmässigkeit)
13 and to trust and enjoy the adult by whom these values are inculcated.

14 For each stage of development there are, as expressed in the views of
15 the German experts: (1) things that can be done only at that stage -- or,
16 rather, that can be done most easily at that stage but only with difficulty
17 later on (e.g. habituation to systematic regularity (Ordnung) in early
18 infancy); (2) things that cannot be done at that stage (e.g. attempting to
19 teach a child of less than 18 months by words alone or by means of punishment);
20 (3) things that must be done at some stage because a later stage has not yet
21 been reached (e.g. linking word and action in training the very young child
22 because it does not yet know that a word stands for an action; at this stage
23 the mother must be willing to repeat each command on many occasions (instead
24 of saying something once and expecting a correct response) and must insist
25 that the child match word and action so that the child will become habituated
26 to the relationship between word and deed); and (4) things which are done at
27 each stage to prepare the child for stages still to come, sometimes in the
28 distant future (e.g. the parent "prepares the ground" -- for the love of
29 truth, for the development of pride, for the life of the spirit, for endurance
30 -- long before these may be said to develop).

1 In learning obedience the child progresses from the first more-or-less
 2 passive stage in which it learns to accept prescribed order, to the next
 3 stage (up to about 18 months) during which it becomes active and learns to
 4 participate in actions in which words and actions are repeated over and over.
 5 At 18 months or so, the child begins to understand the meaning of commands and
 6 of "no" but cannot yet be expected to obey prohibitions (Verbote) in the
 7 absence of an adult. When the child is two, it can carry out verbal requests
 8 and begins to obey prohibitions of its own accord (selbstständig). Then a
 9 series of things begins to happen: The child says to itself (as its mother
 10 has said innumerable times, always patiently removing the child's hand):
 11 "Knives you may not touch " -- and it leaves the knife (or the cake or Mother's
 12 colored pins) on the table. It becomes possible to combine a series of
 13 desired actions in one order, i.e. the mother says: "It is time to go to bed"
 14 -- and the child begins the whole series of activities involved in "going to
 15 bed" without having to be told to do each one of them. Consequently, after
 16 a time, only a few commands are necessary and the child acts without realizing
 17 that it is being obedient. Contrasting the well brought up and the badly
 18 brought up child, Plattner writes:

19 So with increasing age the single order more and more takes the place
 20 of many specific demands. An obedient child is not overburdened with
 21 orders, while orders and prohibitions fall like hail on other children:
 22 "Leave that alone!" -- "You know you should not do that!" -- "Sit
 23 properly at table!" -- The obedient child sits properly without thinking
 24 about it and without even knowing that he was once told to do it. (p. 12)

25 Obedience, which the child has begun to take on itself at two, has become
 26 automatic and the single command starts an automatic chain reaction. Commenting
 27 on this, Plattner looks forward to the future:

1 With this upbringing at a later age, when will and consciousness are
2 fully developed (entfaltet), a simple and friendly word, for instance,
3 "Do your homework now," will be obeyed, taking it completely for granted,
4 and the wish to play more will be overcome. How beautiful the life of
5 the school child can be if we have laid the right foundation in the
6 small-child age! (p. 12)

7 This kind of automatic obedience can be furthered if, instead of thwarting
8 the small child who wants a forbidden object, the mother encourages the child
9 to do what the mother herself would do (e.g. lets the child put the pretty
10 pins out of sight and temptation).

11 There is, moreover, a characteristic of the two to three year old child
12 that helps the parent to teach it obedience -- this is the pedantry of the
13 child itself. At this age it is recognized that the child itself has a need
14 for having everything exactly as it should be and that it is disturbed by
15 what is changed or unusual. Knowing how things should be, the child of its
16 own accord takes over the task of seeing that they are kept as they should
17 be. So Plattner (1951) writes:

18 One can observe in two and three year olds a readiness for obedience
19 that is almost unbelievable to an adult -- a minute (peinlich -- which
20 means mainly "painful") exactness, a peculiar longing for conformity
21 (Gesetzmässigkeit) which takes amiss every deviation from the rule.
22 Little children will fly into a delicious rage (kostliche Entrüstung)
23 if one of a row of drawers is not entirely closed or if the usual
24 places at table are changed or if indeed any change is made from a rule
25 which has once been made. "But you said ..." they say reproachfully.
26 This peculiar childish pedantry makes it possible to accustom the
27 small child to particular rules which give firmness and order to everyday
28 life. (pp. 10-11)

29 Thus a stage which is regarded by Americans as an especially difficult one
30 to get through comfortably, is given very positive and constructive meaning
31 by the German expert who is so majorly concerned with the problem of how
32 the child itself is to take over the task of enforcing good behavior in

26

1 itself.

2 At three, when the child knows what it may and may not do, when it is
3 able to obey of its own accord, then it must be punished if it is disobedient.
4 Punishment should not be revenge, but a help. Thus, Plattner writes:

5 Everything has to be learned. Therefore the child has a right to make
6 mistakes and a right to punishment which helps it to overcome mistakes.
7 (p. 52)

8 Punishment must follow every misdeed -- even if the child has hurt
9 itself in committing it (e.g. when it has burned itself on the hot stove).
10 the child must learn that disobedience is followed by punishment -- and injury
11 does not have this effect. What it must learn is to be obedient, otherwise
12 in later life it will not have achieved self-control and will come to certain
13 grief, as in an example given by Plattner:

14 Some years later the young person will test the ice and will himself
15 know that he must not go on it if it is not strong enough. If he has
16 learned as a child to obey, he will now obey his own insight. But if
17 he was disobedient and obeyed only when he was watched and forced to
18 do so, if he has never learned to overcome a forbidden desire of his
19 own accord, then he will walk on the ice and break through it. (p. 44)

20 Neither threats nor promises of reward are regarded as useful in teaching
21 or obtaining obedience. Rewards distract the attention of the child -- after
22 a while it becomes "accustomed" to them, will not do anything without reward,
23 and the child turns into a "cool calculator who works only for the sake of
24 the reward" (Hetzer, 1947b, p. 84). Nor should the child be reasoned with

25 26. It is not clear in these books whether this pedantic stage precedes
26 that of the stubbornness period (see below) or is another aspect of it. It
27 is worth noting also that the three year old has progressed to the stage of
28 being able to carry out repetitive tasks (e.g. setting the table, watering
29 the plants) and should therefore be given small household duties for which it
30 has responsibility. Thus another use is made of the child's pedantry.

1 in advance: the child's "Why?" is simply a way of getting around doing as
2 it is told. What it should learn is: first obey, then you will find out why
3 it was necessary -- knowing why is the consequence, not the cause of doing
4 something (Plattner, pp. 16-18). Through simple commands, through helpful
5 punishment, the child learns not that obedience is a matter of "unless" or
6 "because" or "so that" but that it is something self-evident (selbst-
7 verständlich). "Self-evident" here means a lack of consciousness; the child
8 has so internalized the commands and the idea of obedience before it has
9 developed self-consciousness that, ideally, it does not even know there is
10 a problem involved.

11 Obedience, it is clear, is quite impersonal, though it is built on
12 trust in the adult. In keeping with this conception, it is best to give
13 orders and directions quite "impersonally": "One doesn't do such a thing"
14 (So was macht man nicht) or "Who opens the door, must close it" (Wer die
15 Tür aufmacht, macht sie auch zu).²⁷ But more important, the parent must
16 treat her own word "like one of the Commandments" or "like a law of Nature";
17 she must never break her word, change her mind, make an exception, or make a
18 mistake which must be corrected by a change of order. For if the parent
19 makes a single exception, takes her word back only once, is caught out in
20 one mistake she risks that the child will get the idea first that it can
21 get its own way by begging or fighting or stubbornly resisting (i.e. that

22 27. This is entirely in keeping with the feeling that it is "life"
23 which sets the tasks, tests the performance, rewards or punishes. Both
24 the mover and the moved act for impersonal reasons. Contrast to this, however,
25 the extremely personal involvement of parent and child as pictured by children
26 in their own stories (cf. "Analysis of German Children's Stories ..." below).

1 it can be stronger than the parent), and second that the adult, in making
2 demands, is acting out of sheer arbitrariness or caprice (Willkür) and
3 the child will then become resistant. It is apparent that the "law of nature"
4 definition of a command is lost as soon as a personal relationship between
5 actor and acted-upon becomes a basis for action.

6 Education in obedience for the small child (pre-school child) and school
7 child has as one of its goals the taking over of this same task -- or at
8 least in some measure -- by the adolescent. Thus, describing the developmental
9 changes that take place in adolescence, Spranger (1951) writes:

10 The deeper the glimpses (Blicke) into own self become, the more frequent
11 is self-judgment (Selbstbeurteilung), and in self-judgment also lies
12 self-education (Selbsterziehung). In few young people does the belief
13 in their own accomplishment (Fertigkeit) go so far that they themselves
14 have the opinion that they do not need any more upbringing (Erziehung).
15 But their relationship to upbringing is different from that of the child
16 in that they themselves begin to choose what effect an educational
17 influence should have upon them. As soon as this selectivity is paired
18 with self-discipline (Selbstzucht) and conscious work on own character,
19 education by outsiders (Fremderziehung) has irrevocably gone over into
20 self-education. No miracle can make intentional educational measures
21 have an effect on the youth if he does not will it himself. Therefore
22 upbringing during this stage consists basically in waking the will
23 for self-education (Selbsterziehungswillen). (pp. 161-162)

24 In a word, the adolescent's own will is to be placed at the service of further
25 education of the self: when the adolescent can "choose" what effect measures

26 28. Willkür has a double meaning, both involving the idea of choice;
27 on the one hand, it can have the sense of free choice and option (handeln
28 Sie nach Ihrer Willkür -- act according to your own discretion) and, on the
29 other hand, it can have the sense of arbitrariness and despotism.

30 29. Germans may adopt the intermediate position of asking one to do
31 something for the sake of a third person, e.g. as small children are fed,
32 spoon by spoon "one for Grandmother, one for Grandfather, one for Uncle Hans,"
33 etc. Or a member of a family may put pressure on another one to act in a
34 particular way "for the sake of the family" -- or "Father," or "Grandfather,"
35 etc. In contrast, friendship is an intensively personal relationship --
36 but friends ought never judge each other's actions.

1 taken by others are to have on him, he must be brought to "will" the correct
2 ones and to work with "self-discipline" and "consciousness" on his own
3 character. It would seem, then, that the adolescent is -- among other things
4 -- being prepared to become the self-educating educator.

5 With the adolescent, the rules and commands and prohibitions may be
6 just as impersonal, but success depends upon a subtle alteration in the
7 relationship between the two people involved, for then, in order to win and
8 keep the confidence of the adolescent and to urge him on to self-education,
9 it is necessary -- youth guidance writers say -- for the adult to adopt a
10 genuinely "frank" and "open" and "comradely" attitude; success depends not
11 on altering the expectations about what must be done, but on taking account
12 of the lessened distance between the two people. This seems to be related
13 in part to the recognition that, while adults can easily see through a
14 small child (and so know what is going on), the adolescent ³⁰ is able to
15 keep secrets (and so the adult will not know what is going on and may make
16 mistakes unless the child is encouraged to confide in the adult); in part it
17 is related to the fact that the adolescent has achieved a measure of
18 independence (Selbständigkeit) and so acts out of personal choice.

19 30. Actually, the child's ability to have a secret, private life is said
20 to begin much earlier than adolescence. So, for instance, in discussing the
21 development of the child of five and six and the differences in this period
22 from the one preceding the stubbornness period, Hetzer (1947a) writes:

23 The behavior of the child towards the adult is no longer as simple
24 and uncomplicated as before the third year. The six year old already
25 has its own world, about which the mother, even if she is always with
26 her child, knows nothing. What is going on in the child, one can only
27 conjecture (vermuten). The child now also becomes able to fool others.
28 The first examples of hiding things and of telling lies come now. (p. 45)

29 So the pre-school child, in its newfound ability to have a life of its own,
30 seems to prefigure the adolescent in keeping this a secret life and in making
31 a wrong use of its new power.

During the whole time that the child is learning obedience, it is also getting training in self-reliance and personal autonomy. This is believed to begin when the infant accepts the fact that "crying accomplishes nothing." But true training in autonomy begins when the child is able to move around -- when it begins to walk. Then it becomes very essential that parents allow the child to experiment with and practice using its own body. The child then must not be "anxiously protected," for, as Hetzer (1947a) says:

The child must become clever through the harm that comes to it (Schaden) that is, one or another accident (e.g. falling down) is an unavoidable necessity. (p. 28)

And Plattner (1951) writes:

... without bruises and scratches no child can become a real person. What the mother forbids / in regard to physical experimentation / out of anxiety, an inborn pressure forces the child to do to test out its powers. The order given by the forward-driving will to life is stronger than the mother's prohibition. With such prohibitions one drives the child to disobedience. (p. 31)

But not only is the child driven to disobedience. If the mother does things for the child which it can very well do for itself, the child turns into a helpless sissy (Muttersöhnchen -- Mother's little son) who tyrannizes its parents: "As long as it 'cannot' the mother must" is the conclusion reached by the protected and fearful child. And so, through helpless dependence, the child compels the parents to continue their personal care and supervision, and then the way to independence must later be "battled with endless effort."

The child who, on the contrary, is allowed to experiment with jumping and running and climbing and who learns to take no notice of the painful incidents that are part of the process is also prepared to face the difficulties of life and master them. Concerning physical pain, an expert said to her own child who had a toothache (Plattner, 1951):

1 "In all growth there are difficulties to overcome. Also when you
2 children grew in me and I bore you, I had to bear hardships and pains
3 just as you do now because you are getting a new tooth. But as a
4 result I had you. Don't you want to have children sometime too?
5 The tooth is a good preparatory exercise (Vorübung) for getting through
6 such a pain." (p. 76)

7 One significant point is that congruence between types of experience is
8 established not through overt likeness of content but through the method
9 used, through the attitude a person has to a great variety of experiences
10 with a single, generalized connecting link such as "pain."

11 The culmination of the small-child period of life comes when the child
12 is ready to go to school, but the climax of this period comes about as midpoint
13 -- when the child is two and one-half to three years old. Before this time and
14 after it, the child is easy to lead (lenksam) and ready to learn, but at
15 midpoint the child suddenly becomes conscious of its self and of its own will
16 and, for about six months, it goes through the famous stubbornness phase
17 (Trotzperiode). The correct handling of this stage is important not only
18 for the whole of the child's life, but also because it is the first of two
19 such climaxes. A second one of the same type (though with different content)
20 takes place in the midst of adolescence. Both are necessary for the development
21 of will and pride in the adult, and both are periods of difficulty for child
22 and responsible adult. In one way, the child's whole previous upbringing is
23 intended to get it through this stubbornness phase: if it has learned to
24 obey, it will continue to think that obedience is natural and it will not
25 exercise its new found will by refusing to carry out ordinary daily activities,
26 but if parents have to use force in this period (because they have put off
27 measures of education needed earlier) then there will be "conflict with the
28 world around it and scenes of stubbornness" (Trotzszenen -- tantrums). On

1 the other hand, if the child is given no chance to exercise its new found
2 self-consciousness and will -- and for this it must have achieved some autonomy
3 -- it will grow up into a "weakwilled, characterless person" (Hetzler, 1947b,
4 pp. 28-29). After the stubbornness period has died out (if the child is
5 treated correctly) of its own accord, the child again becomes ready to learn
6 from others and can undertake new tasks.

7 Consciousness of self and of own will is central to the small child's
8 life, but this consciousness appears rather suddenly and -- after a brief and
9 stormy period -- diss down, to rise to a new climax in the middle of adolescence.
10 The child is born with a readiness for order which must be fostered in infancy
11 and, if it is well brought up, it has a new kind of readiness to undertake
12 tasks (Aufgabenbewilligkeit) when it is "ripe" to go to school. The intermediate
13 period (2½ to 3 years) of self-will is a stage when the child attempts to
14 act on its own, to set its own goals -- and this, indeed, is one of the
15 valuable characteristics which must be protected and which can be lost if
16 the adult attempts to "break the child's will." ³¹ However, parents are given
17 little instruction in how to make constructive use of the period for children
18 They are told they must not punish the child "too much"; they must only see
19 to it that ordinary rules are kept. They must be willing to hold off and
20 wait -- they will be able to take up the task of upbringing again if they
21 are patient: "In the following time of willingness-to-undertake-tasks every-
22 thing can be done without difficulty that could not be accomplished during

23 31. Perhaps the most common criticism made by Germans about other
24 Germans as educators is that they "break the child's will." It is also one
25 of the most longstanding warnings given: One must educate the child without
26 breaking its will.

1 the period of stubbornness." (Hetzler, 1947a, p. 63)³² In contrast, the
2 management of "Sturm und Drang" -- of the problems and difficulties and
3 bad experiences of the adolescent period of self-will -- is one of the
4 central issues of some writing on youth guidance. In fact, this climax of
5 self-recognition and striving in the midst of the period of "youth" is one
6 of the climactic points of the whole of life -- and the earlier "Trotzperiode"
7 is in a sense merely a prefiguration.

8 Although a child will be stunted in its development if it lacks attentive
9 love, and will be endangered and dangerous if it is neglected (vernachlässigt)
10 and does not have family companionship, and will turn into a rebel or a
11 sycophant or a will-less slave if too great demands and too great pressures
12 are put upon it (especially at certain periods of development), the greatest
13 anxiety seems to center on the possibility that the child may be weakened
14 and spoiled, may be made frühreif and also unsocial through over-attentiveness,
15 overfeeding (Überfütterung) of foolish affection, overcarefulness, etc. For
16 not only is such a child enfeebled and made unable to exercise self-control
17 or to subject itself to guidance, but also -- since overfond parents are
18 portrayed as wavering people who first give in to everything and later rue
19 the inevitable results -- the child has no basis for trust in people. And,
20 most important, where so much attention is focused on one person, the
21 child gets a false sense of its own importance -- sees itself at the center

22 32. For other examples of this type of climax structure in German
23 culture, cf. Wolfenstein and Leites (1950).

1 of the stage, the sinecure of admiring eyes (and, later perhaps, the central
2 character in a drama of punishment and tragedy). The only child, of
3 course, considered to be especially endangered by the too-loving miseducation
4 of its possibly doting parents, aunts and uncles and other relatives and,
5 except at the cost of a long and painful struggle, it may never be able to
6 achieve independent adulthood or to find a place in a group of people.
7 Giving a child, especially a young child, too great a sense of its own

3 33. In addition to the type of only child whose adult life is ruined
4 by its parents' "meaningless and immeasurable spoiling," another type of
5 situation is described involving an only child who -- if it is a boy -- is
6 predestined to become a homosexual (Schultz, 1951):

12 The inability to love -- can also manifest itself in a particular
13 direction. We shall again give a completely simple and obvious example.
14 Everyone knows the particular type of woman who is usually haggard and
15 narrow-featured, cool, devoid of feeling, calculating, avaricious,
16 untender, domineering, irritable, uncommunicative -- in short a type
17 who, as an old woman, could be regarded as a "witch"... Only one type
18 of man is susceptible to these women as long as they are still young
19 and attractive. These are the men who, in the jargon of the clinic,
20 are called "little rabbit men": soft, gentle, shy, big-eyed, poorly
21 endowed by Nature, mostly spiritually not very independent, but orderly,
22 conscientious, passive natures ...

23 / Such couples never have more than one child. / If the only child
24 is a boy, it grows up from the beginning of its life in the following
25 situation: Mother -- bad, cold; Father -- soft, good, tender. In the
26 earliest period of development, long before any conscious memory, this
27 child has had the experience of one sex as good, the other as bad. We
28 have already pointed out that every person develops from a plantlike
29 existence of childhood through a childish sexual preoccupation with the
30 self and a youthful preoccupation with others of the same sex to a
31 full person. This breakthrough to becoming a full person is only
32 possible when the woman becomes for the man something worth striving for,
33 becomes a goal of desire (Sehnsucht). This is not the case for the type
34 of child pictured here, on the contrary. The image of the woman, the
35 bad mother, is deeply bound up with fear, refusal, hate, opposition,
36 stubbornness, and so on. In the depths of the unconscious of this person
37 there will be no inclination to break out of the homosexuality of the
38 boyish and youthful period into adult life with its responsibility.

34

1 Individuality, -- too great awareness of its self -- makes impossible the
2 integration (Eingliederung) first into the family and later into any other
3 group. And, if one goal of family upbringing is to make the child into a
4 whole person, the other is to make him into a group member. Thus, Seelmann
5 (1952) states the double aspect of the human being:

6 The human being is a unit closed in himself (a self-contained unit).
7 But over and above that he is as such also a member of a larger
8 community. ³⁵

9 To prepare the child for social life, it behooves parents to have several
10 children (eine Kinderreichefamilie is the phrase for the ideal family).
11 And, dividing their attention among all the children, parents must learn to
12 moderate their demands, to remember that each child is different from each
13 other one so that different measures must be used for each to obtain the

14 33. (cont'd) What is the result? When the child of such a couple comes
15 into the period of youth and adulthood, it remains bound in its tender
16 and sexual impulses to itself and to its own sex (to the father); we
17 have before us a homosexual. (pp. 99-101)

18 The witch-(step)-mother and the indecisive father are stock characters in
19 German fairytales, usually in tales involving two daughter figures, one
20 (step-daughter) is good (like her dead mother) and is rewarded after many
21 tribulations, the other (witch's daughter) brings destruction upon mother and
22 daughter. Like parent, like child is one of the underlying themes of these
23 stories as also of the psychologist's imaginative description. This description
24 also is an expression of the kind of anxiety felt about discrepancies between
25 husband and wife.

26 34. A difference is made very carefully between treating each child
27 individually in terms of its own constitution and innate qualities and giving
28 any child too great conscious awareness of itself as a separate individual.
29 (But the two aspects of the problem of individuality are dealt with separately,
30 as is also the question of violating or wounding the child's own sense of its
31 dignity and worth by laughing at it or in any way belittling its achievements.)

32 35. "Der Mensch ist eine in sich geschlossene Einheit. Aber ausserdem
33 als solche noch ein Glied einer grösseren Gemeinschaft." (p. 15)

1 desired results, and to control their expressions of fondness -- in a word,
2 to take the middle course of exactness, for the sake of their children's
3 character development.

4 Part of the education in social life consists in playing with other
5 children. (This, of course, is considered to be much more difficult for
6 the only child than for the child with siblings.) Here again the child is
7 expected to learn through the difficulties that occur. The following is
8 one of the kinds of example given about what can go wrong and how the mother
9 should act (Plattner, 1951, pp. 78-80):

10 Five year old Karl and four year old Fritz jointly have a
11 tricycle. Fritz is riding on it; Karl "wants to too." Fritz doesn't
12 want to give it up. Karl tries to take it away. So neither one can
13 ride. They get into a fight. The mother hears their furious howling
14 and comes.

15 She judges the quarrel according to the immediate situation and
16 insists that Karl give the tricycle to Fritz, because Karl's fury and
17 stubbornness are obvious. Karl feels unjustly treated, because Fritz
18 has ridden already. Full of opposition to his mother, he determines
19 to get back at his brother. Still worse is the little devil that has
20 awakened in Fritz's soul. He did not let Karl ride and now he and not
21 the stupid Karl is riding again. Wasn't it sly to get appearances
22 on his side. He has the advantage and Karl has the disadvantage. How
23 Mother let herself be fooled! He had thought she knew everything.
24 In spite of this triumph, Fritz has an uncomfortable feeling. The
25 pleasure in the tricycle is spoiled ...

26 / The writer then supposes that the mother gave the tricycle to
27 Karl, and indicates that this would have had equally bad results. /

28 It is not the duty of the mother to be a judge but to be the
29 representative (Vertreterin) of the laws of life ... But the law of
30 life does not say: "If two quarrel the one who is right gets the
31 advantage." It is rather: "If two quarrel, both have disadvantage."
32 This disadvantage even the small child should feel. Therefore the
33 mother should take away the toy about which they were quarreling ...
34 If the mother acts in this way in every instance of a quarrel quietly as
35 if it were a foregone conclusion, then the child -- in an age when
36 intellectual understanding is still impossible -- grasps how foolish
37 quarreling is.

1 Thus children who have learned the disadvantages of quarreling, of envy and
2 jealousy, etc. learn the advantages of getting along with each other.
3 Explicitly -- but more often by implication -- the personal desires of the
4 individual child are not central, but rather a kind of impersonalized necessity
5 for adjustment. Selflessness (whether stated positively or negatively -- as
6 in the example given) is a necessary part of social life. In this sense,
7 life as a member of a group -- though it is pictured as half of the totality
8 of experience -- is the reverse of life as an individual.

9 In one specific aspect of education, experts insist that parents take
10 the initiative in instruction as well as upbringing (i.e. turn instruction
11 into a form of upbringing) and that they do this in a new way. Where, even
12 in the parents' generation, children did not receive formal sexual enlightenment
13 until they were given an explanation (Aufklärung) at about fourteen years,
14 parents are now urged to begin sexual education with the first questions
15 asked by the small child, so that they will have a correct and wholesome
16 (instead of incorrect and dirty) attitude and a fund of correct information
17 by the time they become adolescent. Thus, sexual education, from being
18 education for a stage of life to be given at that stage (an obvious impossibility,
19 the experts agree) is to be turned into gradual education preparatory to a
20 stage of life -- and, of course, the whole of adult life. But more than this,
21 the sexual education, as Seelmann (1952, p. 41) writes, "should lead the
22 children to naturalness, to a more self evident attitude" (will die Kinder
23 noch nur wieder zur Natürlichkeit, zu eine selbstverständlicheren Haltung).
24 Here again, correct education leads to behavior which is automatically correct
25 and "natural."

26 One of the most striking generalizations about the child care and youth
27 guidance literature is the belief that, whatever potentialities for good and

1 evil a child may have (and parents who are anxious about the ineffectiveness of
2 their educational measures are given one out -- namely, the assurance that there
3 are a few -- but a very few -- children who simply are born with only bad
4 characteristics) the good potentialities are realized only insofar as they are
5 fostered by long and unremitting guidance. Bad potentialities, on the contrary,
6 are brought to life by single events -- one mistake, one omission, one occasion
7 neglected is sufficient to encourage a "weed" to implant itself and grow in the
8 child. And furthermore, left to itself the child almost inevitably will make
9 the wrong choice, the foolish decision, indulge in some reprehensible activity.

36

10 At the same time, the well brought up child is capable of self-education
11 and -- sometimes only with help, to be sure -- even the adult who has been
12 misguided but who determines to do better by a child can educate himself or
13 herself to be a good parent. Consequently, although the future always appears
14 to be dependent upon the past -- so that one must in some way make up for the
15 past in order to take a new step ahead into the future -- the child educators
16 set a limit upon the retracing of steps necessary to make things good again
17 (alles wieder gut machen) in their optimistic assurance that the educator can
18 educate himself, that parents can learn how to become people who can bring
19 up children who can take over their own adult self-education.

20 36. The conception of "self-education" (Selbsterziehung) is carried over
21 into academic life nowadays, as one finds in a discussion of the "educational
22 responsibility of the university" by Helmut Thielicke (1952), the rector of
23 Tübingen University, in the course of which he says:

24 The dignity of academic life consists not in making the young student
25 the object of any kind of regimentation but rather the subject of
26 self-education (Selbsterziehung) and for this purpose must leave a
27 space for personal responsibility and at the same time for the risky
28 experiment that the young person will find his way to his own destiny
29 (Bestimmung) or will fail to do so. If education (Erziehung) is to be
30 discussed, then at most in the negative sense of giving an opportunity
31 for self-education. (p. 7)

1

II. GERMAN CHARACTER PORTRAITS: A VIEW OF THE WORLD PRESENTED IN JUVENILE FICTION

1. The German Family: An Analysis Based on a Study of Juvenile Stories about Home and School¹

-- Rhoda Métraux

Juvenile fiction presents an image of the world as the
adult writer believes and intends it to be seen by his youthful

1. This analysis of the world of the family as it is presented by adult writers to young German readers is based primarily on a study of selected German juvenile novels written between 1880 and 1939. Most of the stories analyzed are available in new printings or editions prepared since 1945 and, with one or two exceptions, all were selected from books currently available on booksellers' shelves in Germany. All are books referred to, for one reason or another, by German or German background informants; many of them were referred to as perennial favorites in recent reviews of juvenile fiction in German newspapers; some were cited as examples of current favorites in a recent study of German juvenile taste in reading (Haseloff, 1953). The books are, then, standard books by popular authors, the oldest of which (i.e. the books by Stinde, Sapper, and Haarbeck) have been read by young readers since well before World War I, and the newer ones by readers who grew up during the latter part of the Weimar Republic and the Nazi regime -- as well as in the present. Haseloff (1953) indicates that the "young girl's book" (i.e. the family novel) is nowadays read by younger readers than formerly, reaching the height of its popularity in the Berlin sample studied among readers 11 and 12 years old. Others (i.e. the novels of Kästner) are read by boys as well as girls in their early teens. For purposes of comparison, three novels of school life (Speyer's Kampf der Tertia and Die goldene Horde and Kästner's Das fliegende Klassenzimmer) have also been included as well as one novel by Kästner which combines the family and a flight into pure fantasy (Der 35. Mai). All of these are regarded as books for younger teen age readers, i.e. readers under 18.

Books intended for younger, pre-adolescent German readers are of a somewhat different type and, although one or two may be referred to here, are not specifically included in this study. It should be borne in mind that folk and fairy tales have been the recommended reading for the very young in Germany for many generations and it is not surprising to find that certain fairy tale themes (sometimes in inverted form) recur in the family stories. One or two of these also will be referred to though they do not form an integral part of this analysis. Novels analyzed specifically for the purpose of this study include those by Haarbeck, Kästner, Roobol, Sapper, Schanz, Scharrelmann, Schmacher, Speyer, Stinde, Ury, Wildhagen, and Wustmann. (For titles, cf. bibliography.)

audience. The fantasy world so presented -- whether it be an imaginary one or one of "every day reality" -- is not the world as it is seen by children, but rather an interpretation by adults who are providing models for children. What these models are, and how they are to be used by children, varies from one culture to another, as does the attitude of writer and parent and child towards fiction as a conscious or unconscious means of teaching and learning. In this study I have selected for analysis one type of German juvenile fiction which, according to German adults, has had long popularity among young German readers -- the family novel which purports to be an account of "real life" as it is experienced by heroes and heroines not too different from the readers themselves. For the most part these juvenile novels are intended -- explicitly -- not only to entertain but also to instruct their youthful readers and perhaps, indirectly, adults as well; some of them -- especially such older books as that by Stinde (Die Familie Buchholz) and those by Sapper (Das kleine Dummerle, Die Familie Pfäffling, Werden und Wachsen) -- are intended for "family" reading. Agnes Sapper's books are so described on a recent jacket blurb:

These agreeable stories are of high educational value (erzieherischen Wert); may they continue to find their way into every German family.

And the author herself, in the original dedication of Die Familie Pfäffling to her mother, wrote:

You have shown us what a blessing accompanies through life those people who have grown up in a large circle of brothers and sisters and in simple circumstances under the influence of parents who, with trust in God

1 and in a joyous frame of mind, have understood how to
2 do without the things that were denied them.... I
3 would like to present not your family but one animated
4 by the same spirit in this book about the Germau family
5 (in diesem Buch der deutschen Familie).

6 And in the foreword to a later edition, Sapper hopes that this
7 book and its sequel will find their way "to all those who have
8 understanding for genuine German family life." In somewhat the
9 same mood Schumacher addresses her young readers at the conclu-
10 sion of Das Turm-Engel:

11 I think you will have learned one thing from this story --
12 that true happiness does not consist in beauty, riches
13 and a life without worry and least of all in pretending
14 to be more than one is. When one is young one does not
15 believe that quite, but older people can at once differ-
16 entiate between genuine and ungenuine (echte und unechte)
17 people.

18 So, in forewords and conclusions (as well as in the courses of the
19 stories) the authors ensure that the reader will learn the lesson
20 which the story implies and, on occasion, include the reader's
21 elders in the audience.

22 For the most part, these novels present highly moral and
23 idealized versions of family life and of the problems set for
24 and solved by the young heroes and heroines who are the central
25 figures in the stories and whose experiences -- whether at some
26 crucial period in their development or throughout a long life de-
27 picted from early childhood to late grandparenthood -- are central
28 to the plots. The ideal of family life changes little in over
29 fifty years of storytelling, but the earlier versions of family
30 life (e.g. the stories of the Präffling family and of Turm-Engel
31 and the Wildfang series) differ from the later ones (e.g. the

1 stories of the Nesthäkchen and Trotzkopf series) in the explicit-
 2 ness of idealization and, to some extent, in the means by which
 3 the ideal life is to be attained, and (in the case of Kästner
 4 particularly) in the recognition of fallibility. Sapper, in the
 5 foreword already quoted (written at the turn of the century), in-
 6 timates that the ideal German Pfäffling family had a basis in re-
 7 ality, in the past experience of the author herself. Ury plays
 8 between fiction and reality when, in the conclusion to her book
 9 Nesthäkchen und ihre Küken, she writes:

10 Yes, my Nesthäkchen lives. She lives everywhere where a child
 11 is the sunshine of a harmonious parental home. Where a grannie
 12 mirrors herself in her grandchild. Where warmhearted friend-
 13 ships live on through childhood and adolescence. Wherever one
 14 works and strives, wherever one wins the produce of the German
 home-earth, in the city and the country, wherever anyone
 spreads happiness and joy in his own home. Everywhere there
 my Nesthäkchen is at home.

15 Kästner, writing in the late 1920s and 1930s, is insistent that
 16 his own versions of life are fictions, as when, in Das fliegende
 17 Klassenzimmer, he gives a fanciful description of how the story
 18 came to be written, and when he intersperses the telling of the
 19 story of Punktchen und Anton with chapters of author's comments,
 20 including one about the "happy ending":

21 Now you could perhaps conclude that things in life
 22 come out as justly as in this book. That would be a
 23 fatal mistake. It ought to be so and all reasonable
 24 people take pains to have it so. But it is not so.
 25 It is not yet so.

26 We once had a school companion who regularly denounced
 27 his neighbors. Do you think he was punished? No, the
 28 neighbor whom he denounced was punished. Do not be
 29 surprised if in life you are sometimes punished
 30 for the crimes of others. See to it, when you are grown
 31 up, that things will be better. We ourselves have not

1 quite achieved it. Become more decent, more honest,
2 more just and reasonable than most of us are.

3 The world is said once to have been a paradise.
4 Everything is possible.

5 The world could become a paradise. Everything is
6 possible. (pp. 168-69)

7 Thus the older writers tend to present the young reader
8 with an ideal picture of a world which, they intimate, is based up-
9 on reality -- the fictional model for the children's real behavior,
10 they suggest, is based upon an already existing reality. Kästner,
11 on the contrary, points out that the fictional world has not yet
12 been achieved, but for him it is also -- as he presents his picture
13 to children -- a possible reality located some time in the future.

14 In these novels it is not so much the values that alter as
15 the recognition of and acceptance of behavior that is less than
16 the ideal in the world of fiction (and by implication -- for the
17 purposes of the authors -- in actuality). This is especially
18 clearly illustrated by changing attitudes towards fallibility
19 in the parents portrayed in the novels.

20 Stinde, writing a family novel in the 1880s for an adult
21 audience, counterpoints the solemnity of the Gartenlaube novel²
22 with his humorous impersonation of a naturally clever but fal-
23 lible mother,³ yet he, no less than the Gartenlaube authors

24 2. For a discussion of the 19th century Gartenlaube novel,
25 cf. below, two papers by Nelly Hoyt.

26 3. The play on doubles that is so important in German
27 humorous writing is well illustrated by this book which is
28 written by a man, though the fictional "I" in the book is
29 a woman, Frau Wilhelmine, who illustrates the frailties of
30 woman and comments upon the frailties of man.

on the authors of extremely earnest and sentimental didactic stories for the young (of which Schanz's In der Feierstunde is a minor example), values the family as the center of life and emphasizes the importance of good character. Similarly, Kästner, writing in the late 1920s for a child audience, counterpoints the straightforward seriousness of slightly earlier writers into whose territory he has moved, but he too supports and recreates their values out of a recognition of fallibility. In his stories it is not so much the parents but intermediate figures^(uncles, teachers, etc.) who stand between full-fledged adults (parents, the head of a school) and children, who -- themselves fallible in other respects -- are the infallible educators; and the children themselves -- learning in spite of adult fallibility and in somewhat devious ways how to become perfect children -- may have to bring the parents to heel. Early or late, directly or indirectly, the stories of family life have an underlying didactic intent. In the 1980s a writer could convey to adults -- through humor -- the idea that parents were fallible⁴ (though being of good character they could nevertheless succeed with their children); in the 1920s a writer could convey to children -- through humor -- the idea that parents were fallible but that one could nevertheless acquire a good character.

In between these two writers there are such authors as Haarbeck, Sapper, Schumacher, and Ury, who write for a more special audience of young girls and whose families are patterns of perfection -- at least as far as the elder parental generation

4. The fallibility of humanity is, of course, also the subject of the savage rhymes and cartoons of Wilhelm Busch, whose work, created for adults, gradually also became the special property of children.

1 (the parents of the heroines and heroes) is concerned; the change
2 from infallibility to fallibility occurs rather among the heroes
3 and heroines themselves as they in turn become parents and bring
4 up other children.⁵ It is mainly these writers who provide the
5 pattern of family life discussed in this study.

6 The families in most of the stories are middle-class families
7 -- some of them richer, others poorer and struggling, but
8 most of them professional families in moderate circumstances --
9 and the ideals portrayed in the novels are essentially those of
10 middle-class life. The father in the Buchholz family is a small
11 business man; the father in Das Turm-Engel is a worthy bell
12 ringer in a small town but his beautiful and talented daughter
13 moves into a middle-class position at the same time that she
14 learns to appreciate her own background; the father in ^{the} Präffling
15 family is a struggling music teacher who becomes the respected
16 head of a music school; the fathers in the Wildfang series (Dr.
17 Röder) and in the Nesthäkchen series (Dr. Braun) are doctors,
18 one in a small town, the other in Berlin; the father in Gunhild
19 die Reiterin (the scene of which is laid in Norway) is a small
20 landowner; and so on. The children likewise become teachers and
21 nurses and doctors and lawyers and engineers and estate owners --
22 sometimes slightly improving on their parents' positions, but
23 in general remaining well within the "good" middle-class orbit --

24 5. In the school stories studied (by Speyer and Kästner)
25 parents are distant or absent and the highest school authorities
26 are also distant; in one of the later family stories (Wustmann's
27 Gunhild die Reiterin) the ideal parents are killed off in a cat-
28 astrophic landslide and the brother and sister are left
29 with a passive but all-wise grandfather to rebuild a new family
30 life on the wrecked foundations of the old.

1 and also, like their parents, they become the parents of a new
2 generation.

3 The stories focus upon the life of the family to the exclusion
4 of most other events whether in the place where the scene is laid or
5 in the world at large. The boundaries are at their widest when
6 the author (e.g. Wildhagen) apostrophizes German youth in the per-
7 son, for instance, of a little boy who dares not own up to some-
8 thing he has done, or when the author (e.g. Sapper) invokes the
9 unique German Christmas; the boundaries shrink to the nearest hor-
10 izon where home (die Heimat) is concerned for then the relevant
11 world is limited, at least in emotional tone, to the view visible
12 from the windows of the parental house (das Elternhaus).⁶ In the
13 introduction to Die Familie Buchholz Stinde sets the essential
14 scene:

15 Whoever is interested in knowing about intimate family life
16 in the solitude of a great city [Berlin] will participate
17 in the worries and joys of Frau Wilhelmine and will regard
18 her letters [the book is written as a series of letters to
19 the editor of a newspaper] as sketches of the life of the
20 capital city, which consists not only of asphalt streets and
21 long rows of houses but also of many, many homes, the doors
22 of which remain closed to strangers. (p.5)

23 Similarly, in an early scene, Wustmann circumscribes the horizons
24 of Gunhild's life, seen from the mountain meadow where she is herd-
25 ing her father's cows:

26 The mountain meadow (Alm) lay before her, a little field
27 surrounded by birches; very near the mountain rose up into
28 the clear blue sky; on it lay everlasting ice which in a

29 6. Contrast to this the wide horizons pictured by Karl May
30 in his adventure stories in the Near East and in the American
31 Far West. Cf. Nelly Hoyt's discussion below. The common bound-
32 ary to the two is, however, the symbolic one of "Germany" and
33 all that is "German."

1 broad band, following a ravine, wound into the depth of
2 the valley. Eight hundred meters below she saw the lake
3 on whose shore the properties of the mountain peasants
4 lay. There lay Björgvin, her father's estate (Hof), with
5 its white house and red barn, there on the slopes were the
6 gardens and acres in which the fruit trees stood in rows.
7 Bright as silver the lake mirrored the sun; toylike the
8 farm buildings greeted the mountain meadow where Gunhild
9 was the cowherd. (pp. 6-7)

10 And similarly, lying on their lookout hill, the boys in Kampf der
11 Tertia could distinguish the world of the town (their enemy) and
12 the world of the school (in which they lived in safe independence).
13 nearer -- come together when
14 The two sets of boundaries -- the wider and the ^ the family is
15 called "the German family."

16 Sometimes, in these stories, we are told the name of the city
17 or town in which the story takes place, sometimes only its general
18 location, e. g. "a small town in southern Germany." Sometimes we
19 are given definite, though incidental clues, to the period in
20 which the story takes place, as when the author of Nesthäkchen
21 und ihre Küken explains:

22 Each one had his own worries. In the bitterly expensive
23 period that followed on the World War, it was not easy
24 for a young doctor to found his own hearth. (p. 10)

25 (But even so, we can only place the story in the late 1920s be-
26 cause we already know -- from earlier volumes -- that Nesthäkchen
27 was a school girl in the immediate postwar period.) Equally of-
28 ten the reader can infer time and the passing of time only from
29 by Haarbeck,
30 minor details. So, in the Wildfang series ^ the father first goes
31 out on calls in his carriage and later, when the children are
32 grown up, we learn that someone has an automobile. In Speyer's
33 Kampf der Tertia the children chew gum (an American importation) --

1 a fact mentioned by German informants as something that impressed
2 them when they first read this book in 1928 or 1929 -- and there
3 are cars and motorcycles and one boy has a flier hero. As the
4 heroes and heroines grow up we may follow them to a school or a
5 university, to another city, to the place where they take over
6 their professions, even -- though rarely -- overseas to faraway
7 places (as when two of the Pfäffling children go to German Africa,
8 one as an engineer and the other as the bride of a pioneering
9 farmer). So we are given, at best, a general sense of a period
10 and a place, and -- but this is especially evident as we move
11 from one novel or novel series to another rather than as we read
12 one series -- a sense of the passing of time. And yet, essential-
13 ly, in these novels we are living in a timeless and eventless
14 world bounded by the garden surrounding the family home, and hap-
15 penings outside are heard only as faint echoes which can perhaps
16 be meaningfully interpreted by the reader but which do not -- in
17 terms of the story -- affect the lives of those within the gate.
18 In these novels, most of which are deeply concerned with problems
19 of character building and fulfillment, children are brought up to
20 face "reality" and "life" and "the world" effectively; but the
21 reality which, eventually, they face -- especially in the novels
22 that take the protagonists from childhood to adulthood or old age --
23 is the reality of the family world -- of courtship and marriage
24 and home and the upbringing of the next generation.⁷ Quite often
25 the end contains the beginning: Wildfang, who became the mother of
in effect,

26 7. It is not inappropriate to point out here that contemporary
27 child care and youth guidance experts, who are extremely concerned
28 to make the growing generation good members of the wider social
29 world, are equally concerned in their books with the world of the
30 family as far as upbringing is concerned. Cf. my discussion of
31 this subject, above.

her younger siblings and so a kind of partner of her father, mar-
ries a widower (her childhood sweetheart from whom she parted to
stay with her own family) and becomes a successful stepmother;
Wildfang's youngest brother becomes a doctor, like his father, and
eventually rehabilitates the family home; Nesthäkchen, who studied
medicine to become her father's assistant, marries a young doctor
who becomes her father's assistant; the youngest Pfäffling boy (the
real hero of this series), whose father was a music teacher, be-
comes, not a professional musician, but a music instrument maker;
Gunhild and her brother -- whose parents are killed and whose an-
cient homestead is destroyed by a catastrophic landslide -- recreate
the home and the property (but double it as they both marry and set-
tle next to each other). So, in these stories, the life of the
family in the long run turns back upon itself and recreates itself
in new generations, essentially unaffected by and having no effect
upon external events in time and space. There is a symbolic unit --
Germany -- in which everyone participates, and within this are other
small independent units made up of families. There are landscapes
and people who have reality insofar as they are seen by the char-
acters in the stories but, in another sense, they are without
meaningful content and have no independent existence.⁸ The world

8. From the point of view of the reader, there are, of course,
other worlds which one can enter by reading a different type of
fiction, e.g., Karl May's adventure novels in which an isolated
German, Kara ben Nemsî or Old Shatterhand, wanders through the
Near East or the American West far from home and the family. Or
there is the world of the folk and fairy tale, which German experts
regard as the special province of children who have not yet left
the "childhood paradise" (Kinderparadis) of small childhood and
home; or of the saga, which is the province of the pre-adolescent;
and so on. The world of the imagination is divided into genre and
is also, it would appear, strictly age graded.

1 of the family is a closed world with its own hazards and trials
2 and eventual triumphs and solutions to difficulties.

3 Public and official life hardly touches upon the characters
4 in these novels. Each of the men seems to exist, as it were, inde-
5 pendently. Most of the adult men have the kind of work that assures
6 them of some sort of autonomy; they are not officials but doctors
7 and lawyers and estate owners, and so on, and in any case, the de-
8 tails of their professional life do not enter directly into the
9 stories in any significant way. If Turm-Engel's father has offi-
10 cial duties, he fulfills them without fail and punctually because
11 he is a dutiful and methodical man, not because of pressure upon
12 him; if Pfäffling doubts that he will be chosen as the head of a
13 music school, it is because the new school is in a strange city
14 where people may not know him well enough to judge his real merits;
15 if a young doctor has a hard time establishing himself, it is because
16 times are hard. People act and succeed or fail in terms of their own
17 merits -- or because of circumstances outside any reasonable control

18 Germany exists as an idea -- as a beloved way of doing things,
19 as a series of landscapes, as the summation of a kind of character --
20 but hardly as a political entity. For government -- and this only
21 incidentally -- does not exist in these novels beyond the locality.
22 A minor character is a Burgomeister, or some boys have a snow fight
23 on a street and get into difficulties with the police, but on a
24 larger scale government and politics neither adorn nor trouble these
25 books. Nor, although most of the writers are piously Christian, do
26 sectarian differences appear in their pages. There are ministers
27 and people pray and go to church, but never once does the reader
28 follow a character into a church during a religious service. In

1 these novels we find good Christians and good Germans, but no re-
2 ference to religious dogma or political opinion.⁹

3 The plot development in these novels is likely to be episodic --
4 to take the form of a series of sketches, each of which more or
5 less carries forward a story. Some of the authors are, indeed,
6 much more adept than others in developing plot, but in general the
7 interest focuses rather upon the situation that displays character
8 than upon the interweaving of events. For the underlying interest
9 in the stories is the climax of character development rather than
10 the climax of external event. (This is, however, less true of
11 Speyer's two stories than of the others.) So, for instance, in
12 Das Turm-Engel we follow the heroine, Egele, from childhood to
13 young womanhood and learn first how she becomes a pretty and spoiled
14 girl and then, through a series of adventures, how through suffer-
15 ing and the reeducation following upon suffering, she becomes an
16 appreciative, loving, and capable young woman, ready for romance
17 and bound to her home. In Die Familie Pfaffling the basic plot
18 turns upon whether or not the father becomes the head of a music
19 school and upon the various economic difficulties of a poor but
20 respectable large family, but the episodes, loosely strung together,
21 each illustrate an event that tries and proves the character of one
22 or more of the children in the family. In the first volume of
23 Wildfang's story, we first see how the tomboy heroine (Wildfang)
24 eludes her responsibilities as the eldest daughter of a widowed
25 father, how she comes to grief through disobedience (swinging on

26 9. In this study I have, of course, deliberately avoided the
27 specifically politically oriented literature of the 1930s and no
28 attempt was made to tap specifically sectarian books for a limited
29 audience.

1 a forbidden swing, she falls and becomes paralyzed) and then how,
2 having learned to accept and so to master her great suffering,
3 she recovers and becomes the responsible, self-sacrificing foster
4 mother of her own siblings. As the heroes and heroines grow up,
5 we learn how through suffering or misunderstanding or happy acci-
6 dent they become engaged, get married, set up their own homes and
7 begin to cope with the problems of their own growing children.
8 And so on.

9 The family of the juvenile novels is "the family rich in
10 children" (die kinderreiche Familie). The seven children in the
11 Präffling family are a problem because the family is, at first,
12 poor; in spite of this, the family is happy and united. There
13 are six children in the Röder family in the Wildfang series (and
14 these children -- with some exceptions -- have large families
15 when they marry). There are several children in the Braun family
16 in the Nesthäkchen series. Two children are minimally necessary
17 for the safe upbringing of the child. The only child (e.g. Turm-
18 Engeln, Pünktchen, and a host of minor characters in these novels
19 and stories) are inevitably problem children and their parents are
20 regularly exceptional in their mishandling of the child's upbringing.
21 ing.¹⁰ Sometimes the only child is permanently saved -- or is
22 brought through a critical period -- by contact with other children
23 and by contact with parents of several children (e.g. a child pro-
24 digy is able to give a concert after he has played with happy
25 children; the erring son of a hotel owner is reformed when he is

26 10. This point of view is entirely consistent with that of
27 the child care expert, discussed in the preceding paper.

1 sent to live in the country with a family of relatives; a young
2 flirtatious girl is saved from becoming frühreif by living in a
3 large family; Turm-Engel plays with a family of neighboring
4 children, imbibing the healthful atmosphere of their home; Pünkt-
5 ten and Anton -- both only children -- select each other as friends
6 and in the end become foster relatives). The only child may be
7 cherished or neglected -- its fate is always problematical.¹¹

8 If not in the first generation (where a story may concentrate
9 upon a single household), then at least in the second generation --
10 when the children grow up and scatter and marry and found house-
11 holds of their own -- the family consists of numerous households,
12 each independent of the others and bound to the others only by
13 ties of affection that are renewed on ceremonial occasions: birth-
14 days, marriages, and christening celebrations, holiday visits, or
15 care in crises. The separateness of the households is symbolized
16 by their scattering not only in one city but quite regularly in
17 different parts of Germany -- in country and city, in North and
18 South. Too close residence (except perhaps for sister and brother)
19 creates a lack of mature independence; the child who stays too
20 close to home -- as an adult -- has not achieved (from the view-
21 point of the novel) autonomy (selbständigkeit). Maturation in-
22 volves physical removal from one place to another -- but not a
23 loss of deep and sentimental attachment to the parental home,
24 das Elternhaus, and ^{to} one's place of birth,

25 11. Thus in the fairy tales too there is the problematical
26 heroine -- the little princess who is the only child -- and the
27 bad and good stepsister pair, each of whom seems to typify one of
28 the two possibilities for the only child (suffering and triumph
29 or pride and a fall).

1 H 12
2 ~~Belong~~ Thus maturity is achieved by reversing the childhood
3 situation when everyone lived under one roof, sat at one table. 13
4 The table itself is a symbol for the meeting of the united
5 household and the united larger family. That is, the table
6 provides a place where the individuals in the household or family
7 can meet together and, when they are there, all together, they are
8 visibly one group. 14 Among the larger family group, people from the
9 various households -- grandmother and grandfather, aunts and uncles,
10 children and grandchildren and cousins -- usually draw up around
11 a table for a common meal, and so we see them together for a Sunday
12 dinner, for a holiday meal, at the coffee table set for a birthday
13 or an anniversary celebration. Secondly, food itself can be
14 a link between persons who are apart. Grandmothers or uncles and
15 aunts who live in the country are likely to send boxes of good
16 food for special occasions, as if, by sending food for their relatives,
17 they too could affectionately join all the others present at

17 12. At the same time, recognition of this almost unbreakable
18 tie to the home is itself a sign of maturity. So, for instance,
19 Turm-Engel -- sadder and wiser for tragic experiences away from
20 the home she had wanted to deny -- finally returns to the tower room
21 of her young childhood and looks out:

22 With enchantment she looked out over all the known houses and
23 hills. Distance no longer had a lure for her. Engel had
24 returned gladly, so gladly to the homey, cosy nest (ins
25 heimische, enge Nest) and knew now that happiness does not
26 come from outside but rather from within the heart. (p. 222)

27 13. Sitting at one table is also a general symbol of belonging
28 to one group. Cf., for instance, the repeated use of a table as a
29 symbol of this kind in the Nazi propaganda film Hitlerjunge Quex.

30 14. Commenting on the American family, a young German student
31 exclaimed quite spontaneously: "The American family is so loose;
32 not even the table draws them together." Thus the table is not only
33 a symbol of unity, it is also a device for making unity possible.

the table. The table itself is movable -- for now we see the family gathered in the dining room, and now, on another occasion, the coffee table may be set in another room or under a shady tree or even -- when a large family goes on an excursion -- at an inn or in the woods.¹⁵

For the smaller family of the single household, the central table serves a more general purpose.¹⁶ We see the family together at meals, but the same table (or another like it) holds the Christmas presents -- a pile for each member of the family¹⁷ -- and in the evenings, the family sit around the table, each busily at work. So, on a winter evening, we are shown the Pfäffling family gathered together:

What kinds of work were done in the Pfäffling family at the big table under the hanging lamp that was lighted as early as five o'clock! Of the four brothers, one was doing his Greek, the other his Latin, the third his French, the fourth his German lessons. One stared into the air and sought for clever ideas for his composition, the other thumbed his

15. Similarly, in Germany, no departing relatives or guests are permitted to take a train without a package of sandwiches or other food to eat on the trip. This is not merely a matter of economy -- but rather a symbol of the continuity of the relationship.

16. On the image of the family table, cf. the description of the Gartenlaube cover in Nelly Hoyt's discussion of journal.

17. The table may be split into many tables. Thus, Louis Ferdinand describes a family Christmas in his childhood before World War I in the place of his grandfather, the Kaiser, where each person had an individual table and an individual Christmas tree -- instead of one table with one tree at the center. (The Rebel Prince, pp. 8-9)

1 dictionary, the third murmured conjugations, the fourth
2 scratched arithmetic on his slate.... Mother sat with
3 her sewing basket at the head of the table and next to
4 her little Else who was supposed to busy herself quietly
5 but did not always succeed in doing so.... (pp. 22-23)

6 The table draws the family together but does not necessarily
7 unite them in their occupations. In contrast, the meals shared
8 by an uncle and a nephew symbolize their rather fantastic rela-
9 tionship in Der 35. Mai:

10 Uncle Ringelhut was Konrad's father's brother. And because
11 the uncle was not yet married and lived all alone he could
12 call for his nephew at school every Thursday. Then they ate
13 together, conversed, drank coffee together and only towards
14 evening did the boy return to his parents. These Thursdays
15 were very funny.... He and Konrad ate all sorts of crazy
16 things. Sometimes ham with whipped cream. Or pretzels and
17 bilberries. Or cherry pie with English mustard.... And
18 if they then felt sick, they leaned out of the window and
19 laughed because their neighbors thought that Pharmacist
20 Ringelhut and his nephew had alas gone mad. (pp. 5-6)

21 Here the food on the table expresses the mood of a shared rela-
22 tionship.

23 Aside from the table, each member of the family -- or each
24 group of family members -- has an appointed place that is his
25 own, where he or she is likely to be found. Father has his study
26 which is sacred to him. Mother has her sewing table, sometimes
27 at a window, sometimes in an alcove, sometimes in a corner of
28 father's room. The children have their own rooms -- or at least
29 the children's room (die Kinderstube) which they share.¹⁸ If by
30 any chance another relative -- a grandfather or grandmother --
31 lives in the household, the likelihood is that this person will

32 18. Writers on child care problems nowadays suggest that the
33 little child be drawn into the family earlier by giving it a play
34 corner in the room where the family meets and where Mother works;
35 the corner is still essentially a separate place though it is with-
36 in a larger whole.

1 have a room apart and, except at meals (and sometimes even at
2 meals), will live there -- not joining the evening group around
3 the table but occasionally inviting everyone to join him (or her)
4 in this semi-separate residence. Even the maid, whose realm is
5 in the kitchen, has her room apart from the rest. Thus -- ideally --
6 the German home provides both a place where the family can appear
7 as a united whole and places where each is a separate individual,
8 apart from the rest.¹⁹ So the home in the novel illustrates the
9 dual aspect of the single personality as it is often described in
10 the psychological literature and as it is summed up, for instance
11 by Seelmann (1952): "The human being^{is} a unit closed in itself. But
12 in addition as such he is also a member of a larger community."²⁰

13 19. Stifter, in his mid-19th century educational novel, Der
14 Nachsommer, takes the ideal of the separate room to an extreme.
15 Thus his young hero describes his father's theory about rooms:
16 In any case none of father's rooms was permitted to show
17 signs of immediate use, but should rather always be made
18 neat as if it were a room for display. It should, however,
19 show what its particular purpose is. Mixed rooms, as he
20 expressed himself, which could be more than one thing at a
21 time -- bedroom, playroom, and so on -- he could not abide.
22 Everything and every person, he used to say, could be only
23 one thing, but this it must be wholly. This stress upon
24 strict exactness impressed itself upon us and made us res-
25 pect the demands of our parents even if we did not under-
26 stand them. (p.6)

27 The disasters that follow upon lack of privacy (the lack
28 of a room of one's own) are among the most common of the recurrent
29 tales told by German informants describing life in Germany since
30 World War II. Family life disintegrates when there is no place
31 to be apart, such informants say; friction increases -- and even
32 knowing that the situation is unavoidable and irremediable, each
33 person gets the feeling that the other is deliberately irritating
34 him. Reiberei -- the word usually used to describe such friction --
35 includes the idea of "grating"; thrown together without possibili-
36 ty of escape each person grates, teases, provokes the other.
37 Thus in thinking about actual daily life, the ability to be apart
38 is a prerequisite to being together in a frictionless, smooth sit-
39 uation.

40 20. "Der Mensch ist eine in sich geschlossene Einheit. Aber aus-
41 serdem als solche noch ein Glied einer grösseren Gemeinschaft." (p.15)

1 The house itself provides a shell within which the family forms
2 a set "closed to strangers"; the table provides a meeting place
3 where the separate units in the family are turned into "members
4 of a larger community."

5 Ideally, father and mother have, within the household, entire-
6 ly separate responsibilities: mother runs the household and fath-
7 er provides for it. Mother exhibits her responsibility by having
8 a perfect household, perfectly prepared to receive father whenever
9 he comes home. (In fact, in the stories, the difficulties of young
10 marriage center on the problem of how the inexperienced wife does
11 or does not manage to realize this ideal. In the older stories,
12 the bride finally achieves her goal; in the more modern ones,
13 the ideal is recognized but seldom attained -- the heroine
14 (Nesthäkchen or Trotzkopf, for instance) is a well meaning but
15 comparatively hopeless housewife -- but nevertheless a success at
16 being a wife and mother because of her personality.) Yet, des-
17 pite their separate responsibilities and their separate ability
18 or inability to fulfill them, mother and father form a single
19 unit before the children and the outer world -- in all decisions
20 and expressions of opinion about family decisions, they must be
21 at one (einig), must be of a single mind. This does not mean
22 that they must be alike; on the contrary, mothers and fathers in
23 these stories are markedly different from each other. If father
24 (Die Familie Pfäffling) is active and outgoing and quick-tempered,
25 mother is quiet and reserved and patient, and seldom gives way
26 to impulses. If mother is quick and gay and foolish (Nesthäkchen),
27 father is steady and patient and more farseeing than his wife.

1 thus, ideally, mother and father are complementary to each other
2 and each supports the other with his or her own particular tal-
3 ents and strengths. Mother, as a matter of course, however, adapts
4 herself to father's personality and needs. Where she cannot or
5 will not do this (as is sometimes the case in a marriage of the
6 younger generation) the marriage and the family run into diffi-
7 culties that can only be overcome when and if the wife solves
8 the problems that prevent her from doing her part. In Werden
9 und Wachsen an older woman advises a younger one about the respective
10 responsibilities of husband and wife:

11 "... Many a violin maker is a simple artisan or business
12 man. My husband conceived his work as an artist and we
13 were taken up in cultivated circles, as you too will be.
14 But in spite of this, exactly in this situation, the woman
15 is important, the man wins or loses through her."

16 "But the wife is much more under the influence of her
17 husband?"

18 "I hardly believe so. The whole running of the house-
19 hold, the later appearance, the social tone, and later the
20 upbringing of the children depends more upon the woman;
21 through her the man is raised up or pulled down..." (p. 103)

22 But, essentially, in these stories neither mother nor father is a
23 dominating or dominated person -- rather together they are ^{at} one --
24 einig. The good mother and father make decisions together, behind
25 closed doors: father calls mother aside, mother calls father aside
26 when there is news, when a decision is to be made. And the children
27 learn about the news when the decision about what is to be done
28 has already been taken by the parents. Or the parents together
29 prepare surprises for the children: it is mother and father (or,
30 as in Wildfang's story, father and the responsible eldest daughter)
31 who prepare the Christmas tree in the Christmas room -- and the
32 children enter into the situation only when everything is arranged

1 for them. In Die Familie Pfäffling, one of the crucial scenes is
2 that in which an eldest son is permitted to sit with his parents
3 while they make a difficult decision -- he is a witness rather
4 than a participant, and in becoming this is, to a certain extent,
5 separated from his younger siblings for, having his parents' con-
6 fidence, he is expected not discuss the problems with the younger
7 children.

8 In these stories, mother is so important that she is replace-
9 able. One of the things a child learns is that mothers are, in
10 one sense, multiple. Mother may be dead -- but there must be a
11 mother in the home. The theme of the stepmother is an important
12 one in these stories and fears about the unloving mother are
13 played off in children's fears about the stepmother. Yet, there
14 is in these stories no example of a stepmother who is not a loving
15 mother -- the problem is for the children to discover this earlier
16 or later in their relationship to her. One of the characteristics
17 of the good stepmother is that she does not deny the real mother;
18 on the contrary, being a good stepmother includes keeping the im-
19 age of the real mother bright and clear in the memory of the chil-
20 dren. The children, however, must discover that the stepmother --
21 whom initially they may doubt and who may appear strict and ex-
22 acting -- is good and loving and cares about their wellbeing and
23 happiness, and sooner or later (sometimes at once, sometimes only
24 after a struggle) she becomes "Mutter" or "Mutti" to them in the
25 fullest sense. In Kästner's Pünktchen und Anton there are three
26 mother figures: the well-to-do inattentive mother of the little
27 girl who leaves her in the hands of a nursemaid-governess; the

1 wicked governess (the dupe of a thief who seduces her into turn-
 2 ing the housekeys over to him) -- who is, in fact, anything but
 3 motherly; and the poor but worthy mother of Anton, who cannot
 4 manage the difficulties of life alone with her little boy. In
 5 this story the problems of how to have a complete household and
 6 a perfect mother and how to get rid of the bad characteristics
 7 of a failing mother are solved by having the governess jailed
 8 and b) having the good mother (Anton's mother) take over the up-
 9 bringing of both children in the well-to-do household. The real
 10 mother, now made completely ineffective, remains.²¹

11 The positions of mother and stepmother are exemplified in the
 12 following quotation from a letter written by a young girl soon
 13 after her father's remarriage (Wildfang als Backfisch):

14 In the house itself Father led us both /daughter and step-
 15 mother/ into his study to the portrait of my first mother who
 16 died when I was still very young. He was deeply moved; I
 17 could see it. Then he gave me a kiss and said softly: "Lu,
 18 if your mother can see us now, she will be happy that you
 19 have a mother once more." (p. 205)

20 And the mood of the relationship of dead mother, stepmother and
 21 children can be judged from the following passages in which a
 22 child who has been unwilling to accept the stepmother is suddenly
 23 reconciled to her (Wildfang als Mutter):

24 Altogether she /the stepmother/ was completely different
 25 from what Briggitten /the little girl/ had thought. How
 26 loving and careful she was with little Willie. Not at all
 27 like a stepmother! And how good she had been to Paul when
 28 he had stolen /money/! If she had not been there, he would
 29 in the end have been beaten by Father. And it had made a great
 30 impression on the little girl that now on Gisela's birthday

31 21. Cf. also Nelly Hoyt's comment about affinal relatives in
 32 the Gartenlaube novels who remain in a household after the connect-
 33 ing relative has died.

1 she had gone with Father and the stepchildren to the
2 cemetery to the grave of their dead mother and that she
3 had taken the wreath of the forget-me-nots from Gisela's
4 basket and had laid it on Mother's grave and had said:
5 "Children, never forget your good first mother." And how
6 happy Father had been. Yes, at Mother's grave, that was
7 beautiful! (p. 55)

8 The little girl, Brigitte, then calls her stepmother "Mother"
9 and the new mother gives her a necklace which had belonged to the
10 first mother (and which the father had wanted to give to his sec-
11 ond wife):

12 She /the stepmother/ put the necklace around the little girl's
13 neck and said: "Father agrees that I cannot wear this jewel
14 because it belonged to your mother and you will be the first
15 one to wear it after her."

16 "Until I am grown up and married you can wear it, Mother,"
17 Brigitte said, smilingly.

18 "No, you will be the first one to wear it after your mother,
19 as is the family custom. Father will keep it for you and you
20 will have it as a remembrance from your first mother but also
21 as a remembrance of the hour when Tante Grete /the speaker/
22 became your second mother who never wants to push the first
23 one out of your heart." (pp.55-56)

24 So the ideal family is able to include the dead among the living
25 and the ideal stepmother replaces the mother without displacing her.

26 Unlike mother, father is permanently himself. He may die,
27 but -- in these stories -- he is not replaced by any other man who
28 takes over family responsibilities within the family as does the
29 necessary stepmother.

30 As long as the parents are living and are in charge of their
31 children, grandparents and aunts and uncles play entirely different
32 roles from the parental ones. Where responsibility and obedience
33 link together parent and child, other relatives (especially grand-
34 parents) attach themselves to children primarily through permitted
35 indulgences and "spoiling." Grandchildren take it for granted

that grandfathers carry sweets in their pockets; grandmothers
treat their grandchildren with sunny understanding and good cake --
or other luxuries which they do not expect to obtain from their
own parents.²² So, for instance, grandmother (Nesthäkchen und
ihre Küken) calms her raging grandchild at a birthday party:

But what are grandmothers for in this world? Grandme
lovingly overpowered the little raging child and even
before everyone sat down little Urzel was sunshiny again.
"You are spoiling the child, Mother dear." Dr.
Hartenstein /father/did not agree entirely with his
mother-in-law's educational methods. (p. 34)

Or grandfather plays with his grandson (Wildfang als Mutter):

When Grete /mother/had no time... she carried little
Willie into Grandfather's room. Then he shouted and
rejoiced, for no one could play so beautifully and quiet-
ly as Grandfather. Willie was allowed to sit on his knees
and play with his watch chain or listen to the tick-tock,
or Grandfather sang him a little song or let him tear a
big newspaper into little pieces. That was wonderful, for
there was a marvelous mess and it made a lovely noise. (p.69)

22. "I never knew my father could play," said a German in-
formant. When we were children, he sat in his study and we were
afraid of him. But with his grandchildren, when he got to be
'Opa,' he could play Indians with a feather duster on his head,
and, poor man, he could read until he didn't have any voice left."

Cf. also Louis Ferdinand's account (1952) of his relationship
with his indulgent grandfather, the Kaiser. That this indulgence
was effective is also evident, as when Louis Ferdinand explains
why (after his elder brother had married a commoner) he obeyed
his grandfather and came home:

My choice to return to Germany and Europe was not voluntary...
True, in being obedient I did not live up to being a "rebel."
But I should have despised myself for letting down a grand-
father who had taken my side during all these years. I did
not deem it right to add to his grief. I would have felt a
deserter had I not fulfilled his wish to take my brother's
place. (p. 250)

Thus indulgence -- in a grandparent -- gives another reason for
self-controlled obedience.

1 Or grandfather comes to visit (Wildfang als Tante):

2 Especially fine were the daily visits of Grandfather
3 who never came into the house without a little piece
4 of chocolate or a sugar candy in his pocket. (p. 130)

5 Similarly aunts and uncles -- except when they replace par-
6 ents temporarily or permanently -- are expected to be affection-
7 ately indulgent and to help their nieces and nephews. Mother's
8 friends and father's friends are assimilated to aunts and uncles
9 and, indeed, any person with whom the child may have some relation-
10 ship of confidence and trust/^{may}become a pseudo-uncle or pseudo-
11 aunt, i.e. Uncle-Doctor (the child's doctor), Aunt-So-and-So
12 (the landlady of the house) -- irrespective of whether this per-
13 son is on intimate terms with the parents. Thus, the child grows
14 up in its home surrounded by loving and indulgent relatives who
15 come to the house but who do not live in it. There are no strang-
16 ers or outsiders to the family in the home, as far as the child
17 is concerned.

18 Three related themes recur in various forms in these stories
19 in connection with the upbringing of the children: (1) the harm-
20 ony and happiness of the family and the wellbeing of the children
21 grow out of complete, natural obedience; (2) happiness and a
22 good character are achieved through pain and suffering; and (3)
23 secrets may involve suffering -- and, as far as children are
24 concerned, every secret is bad except the secret which one keeps
25 for another's benefit (a self-sacrificing secret), all others
26 are likely to lead to disaster.

27 Reward and punishment/^{play}an unimportant part in these stories
28 as far as parents and children are concerned; rather, disobed-
29 ience, disregard of rules, failure to be/^{the}kind of child one's

1 parents expect one to be, tend to carry their own punishment.

2 So, for instance, a young girl makes friends with an undesir-
3 able young woman who gives her shoddy "romances" to read and
4 encourages her in a secret flirtation with her scapegrace broth-
5 er (Wildfang als Backfisch):

6 Physically Lu had not yet suffered. But she ran the danger
7 of losing the breath of attractiveness and youth which is
8 peculiar to untouched, pure girls and which alone creates
9 the wonderful magic which, unknown to her, surrounds the
10 young girl. Hede /undesirable friend/ had long since lost
11 this breath of youth, this flower magic and she now bustled
12 herself with taking it away from little Lu. Rosy as a
13 peach blossom when she came to Buchingen, it now seemed as
14 if the delicate petals were fading.... She had been intro-
15 duced to all the secrets of flirtation and trifling and her
16 great fault was that she had not followed her conscience and
17 turned away. She had played with wrongdoing and now wrong-
18 doing played with her. (pp. 78-79)

19 Discovery (by a parent or some other responsible person), confes-
20 sion, remorse, are the way back to the right path -- the way to
21 "make good" again and to gain happiness.

22 Occasionally, however, a parent must make a child suffer for
23 its own good. So, for instance, in Die Familie Pfäffling, the
24 youngest son, Frieder, is a gifted musician who cannot stop play-
25 ing the violin, in spite of the fact that he has been told to
26 limit himself to practicing for a certain number of hours a day.
27 One day he plays long past the time -- deliberately. Frieder
28 tells his father he is sorry:

29 "You must be made sorry," said the father. "If you had
30 just forgotten in your enthusiasm that you had played over
31 the time, I could easily forgive it, but if you remembered
32 that you should stop and did not want to obey, if you did
33 intentionally what I had expressly forbidden, then your
34 violin playing is at an end. What do you think would happen

1 if all you children did not obey, if everyone did as he
 2 thought best? That would be as if in an orchestra no one
 3 followed the director, but rather played when and what
 4 he pleased. No, Frieder, my children must obey, your
 5 violin playing is at an end, I will not say forever, but
 6 a year and a day. Give it to me!"

7 /Frieder refuses to give up the violin. The father
 8 picks up the boy, sets him down again and insists that he
 9 give up the violin of his own free will./

10 But the child did not let go. From all sides, loudly
 11 and softly, his brothers and sisters said: "Give it up."
 12 And as the mother saw how passionately he pressed the in-
 13 strument to himself, she asked painfully: "Frieder, do you
 14 love the violin more than Father and Mother?" The little
 15 boy stayed still.

16 "Then keep your violin!" called out the father. "Here
 17 is the bow as well, you can play as long as you like. But
 18 you will be our child only when you give it to us." And,
 19 opening the door to the entry, he called out loud and threat-
 20 eningly, "Go out, you stranger child!"

21 /After several hours of exile in the entry, Frieder
 22 brings his father the violin covered up "like a little corpse."/

23 The father took the package away from him quickly and
 24 put it aside, took hold of his little boy and drew him to
 25 himself and said in a warm tone: "Now everything is well,
 26 Frieder, and you are our child again." Frieder cried his
 27 pain away in his father's arms. (pp. 214-218)

28 Thus, the child learns to do the right thing "of his own free
 29 will" and learns that love and security are dependent upon
 30 willing obedience. Frieder's father later enlarges on the nec-
 31 essity for obedience and self-control:

32 "You cannot stop /playing/, Frieder? It is only that
 33 you do not want to because it is hard for you. But don't
 34 you see that we can all stop if we must? Do you think I
 35 would not rather go on playing than give a music lesson to
 36 Miss Vernagelding when she comes? Do you think that Mother
 37 would not rather go on reading her lovely books after supper
 38 than stop after half an hour and mend stockings? And that
 39 your big brothers would not prefer to play rather than do
 40 their lessons? And that the swallows would not rather get
 41 food for themselves than go out and get food for their
 42 nestlings, as God has ordered it? And Frieder Pfaffling

1 wants to stand all alone in the world and say: "I cannot
2 stop." No, he would have to be ashamed before all animals,
3 before all people, before the dear Lord himself. . . . There
4 are no exceptions, Frieder, whoever has a firm will, can
5 stop in the middle of a bow stroke on his violin, and that
6 you must learn too. Take pains and when you feel that you
7 have acquired a firm will, then I will let you play your
8 violin every Sunday for an hour." (pp. 272-73)

9 In the end, Frieder tells his father that he has learned how to
10 have a firm will. He has practiced it at meals: "Three times
11 I stopped when I had the greatest hunger. Even when we had pan-
12 cakes. . . ." (p. 273) He then is given the violin. This is an
13 event that follows Frieder through his life, even after the death
14 of his father, and eventually he realizes that his father was
15 right: what he has learned has made it possible for him to find
16 a happy solution to the difficult problems of his life.

17 Similarly, in the case of Wildfang, a fall from a forbidden
18 swing (which she did not know was broken) is the pathway to suf-
19 fering but also to reform and to a life of self-sacrifice, and,
20 in the end, happiness and contentment.

21 The young readers of these books can learn a double lesson
22 from the adventures and trials of the young heroes and heroines:
23 (1) obedience leads to harmony and happiness; and (2) disobedi-
24 ence leads to suffering but makes a good person out of the suf-
25 ferer. The rewards of suffering are very great.²³

26 And the suffering which is rewarded may be of very different
27 kinds, serving different purposes: making right a wrong, accept-
28 ing sacrifice for the sake of others, overcoming a desire,

29 23. It is well to keep in mind, however, that German children
30 have also read cautionary tales, such as Der Struwwelpeter, where
31 the erring child comes, inevitably, to a bad end.

1 mastering a weakness. An important part of the idea of suffer-
 2 ing is the recognition of its value. So, for instance, a bride
 3 looks back on a time of self-sacrifice (Wildfang als Tante):

4 Yes, there had been a time when she had thanked God
 5 because she only knew joy and no sorrow and /then/
 6 there was a night... when sleep fled because there was
 7 only pain and misery on earth for her. Today when she
 8 looked back at that time, it was nevertheless beauti-
 9 ful and rich and she would not have wanted to miss it
 10 in her life. "Poor is a life without sorrow, without
 11 pain, without sacrifice and without love," she whisp-
 12 ered. (p. 222)

13 Or a teacher comments on a little boy who had just made a
 14 suicidal jump from a gymnastic apparatus in order to master his
 15 cowardice and to impress others with his daring (Das fliegende
 16 Klassenzimmer):

18 "Well, that he has succeeded in doing," said Justus.
 19 And pull yourselves together! Don't forget that breaking
 20 a leg is less bad than if the little fellow had gone
 21 through the whole of his life fearing that others did
 22 not respect him. I really believe that this parachute
 23 jump was not so idiotic as I at first thought." (p. 131)

24 An alternative, safer mode of behavior is suggested by a
 25 fellow pupil who challenges the popular opinion that by jumping
 26 from a height the cowardly little boy has proved himself to be
 27 especially courageous. Insisting that he jumped only out of
 28 despair and shame at his timidity, Sebastian -- the fellow pupil --
 29 says to the others:

30 have you ever considered whether I have courage?
 31 Has it ever occurred to you that I am fearful? Never.
 32 Therefore I shall tell you that I am in fact unusually
 33 fearful. But I am shrewd and I don't let you notice it.
 34 My lack of courage doesn't disturb me particularly. I am
 35 not ashamed of it. And that is because I am shrewd. I
 36 know that everyone has faults and weaknesses. It is only
important that these faults do not show....."

37 "I prefer the person who is ashamed," said /another
 38 boy/

1 "I, too," answered Sebastian softly. (pp. 136-37)
2 showed concealment of a fault is, then, a possible alternative
3 to eradication of the fault; but even the advocate of concealment
4 believes the other course of action is the preferable one. Im-
5 plicit in this statement is the belief that people and things
6 should be what they are "entirely" -- and the gnawing doubt that
7 they may not be what they seem.²⁴

8 The value of the reckless act is that it proves not only that
9 one can act in a courageous way but also that one is a courageous
10 person (and proves it not only to others but to oneself as well).
11 But this principle works in both directions -- one single act
12 can show up a person as a coward, another single act can show him
13 to be a brave "hero." Thus, in Die Familie Pfäffling, an elder
14 brother deserts his younger brother on the street because he is
15 laughed at by his classmates. The father calls his son, Otto,
16 a "coward." And the mother tells him:

17 "Yes, Otto, he had to consider you cowardly, because
18 you were -- and on other occasions in the same way. You
19 must always be independent of what others think about you.
20 Asking for forgiveness does not help, only fighting against
21 cowardliness helps, demonstrating that you can also be
22 brave." (p. 115)

23 Otto then reverses his behavior -- goes back and does what he had
24 refused to do earlier, allowing himself to be laughed at. The
25 father also reverses his judgment:

26 Mr. Pfäffling gave his son a happy, warm look and
27 said, "There are many kinds of heroism. That was one
28 kind. No, child, you are no coward." (p. 116)

29 24. Cf. the discussion by Nelly Hoyt of the character of the
30 hero and the villain in the Gartenlaube novel. Hero and villain
31 (but not heroine and villainess) may conceal their true character
32 temporarily -- but even here the reading audience (not necessarily
33 other persons in the story) is given conventional and unmistakable
34 clues to their character when this is at variance with their overt
35 behavior.

1 1. Emotionally, since the whole person is continually judged in
 2 terms of the single act, it would seem that judgment of character
 3 would be subject to continual swings from bad to good and back
 4 again.²⁵ In these stories there are two deterrents to this: (1)
 5 the belief that the person who acts out of weakness, out of error,
 6 out of deliberate choice of wrong-doing will continue in such acts
 7 until or unless he is forced out of them; (2) and the belief that
 8 once a person has been induced to act in a good way (either because
 9 of initial good training or because he has learned through suffer-
 10 ing) he has become good and cannot fall back into evil ways. Thus
 11 the little boy who has once demonstrated that he can be brave as-
 12 sures others and himself that he will be brave -- on all occa-
 13 sions. This sets an automatic limit to the number of times one
 14 need suffer in order to be rewarded.²⁶

15 Correlated with the belief in the value of suffering is a
 16 way of looking at things in which any detail can, so to speak,
 17 be set beside any other detail and in which any detail can
 18 stand for the whole, i.e. suffering in one way prepares one to
 19 manage suffering in a totally different situation; mastering fear
 20 in one situation means that one has mastered fear itself; disob-
 21 ^{total}edience in one detail is a sign of/disobedience (and vice versa).

22 25. This point is illustrated especially clearly in Hitler-
 23 junge Quex -- where the film characters swing back and forth in
 24 their opinion of the little hero, but the audience can follow a
 25 series of single acts by the hero, each of which only reinforces
 26 the initial "good" move toward the Nazi orbit.

27 26. Cf. Nelly Hoyt's discussion of suicide in her paper on
 28 the reintegration of the outsider. This belief in change through
 29 a single act, is, however, at variance with the belief expressed
 30 by child care specialists that the process of education is one of
 31 long habituation. The belief in the significance of the single act
 32 comes out, however, in their repeated assertions that a parent can
 33 by one omission, one bad example, etc., set in motion a whole ser- 3
 34 ies of bad actions on the part of the child.

1 Making the point that children no less than adults grieve and
2 suffer, Kästner (Das fliegende Klassenzimmer) comments:

3 There is no difference (es ist gleichgültig) whether one
4 cries because of a broken doll or, at some later time,
5 because one has lost a friend. In life it is irrelevant
6 what one grieves about, what is relevant is how much one
7 grieves. (p. 15)

8 Congruence, proportion and interrelationship are, in this sense, ir-
9 relevant; perhaps more exactly, it can be said that content is
10 exceedingly important when the single act is considered by itself,
11 but that content is irrelevant in arriving at a generalization.

12 The educational value of the pain and suffering that follow
13 upon error and disobedience and actions based on some character
14 fault or weakness is dependent upon shared knowledge. For only
15 if the child is guided through the maze of wrongdoing and pain by
16 an exemplary and wise adult does it profit by its experience. The
17 problem children and minor villains in these stories are children
18 who have been neglected or misguided -- who have been spoiled, or
19 made frühreif, or encouraged (consciously or unconsciously) in
20 behavior that results in a bad character. There is, however, a
21 difference between the older and the more modern stories in this
22 respect. In the older stories, the parents, or wiser parent
23 substitutes, see through their children, discover wrongdoing,
24 and labor to correct whatever is wrong. In the newer stories
25 (Nesthäkchen, for instance) the parents may be equally insightful,
26 but they may merely say, "I ought to punish you for this" -- with-
27 out carrying out the punishment -- ^{and} /the words are effective. Or
28 the parent-figures (the head of the school in Kampf der Tertia
29 and, to a lesser extent, the head of the school and the beloved

1 teacher in Das fliegende Klassenzimmer) stand aloof and allow
2 the children to prove that they are (in spite of appearances)
3 being good.²⁷ The assumption in this situation is that the par-
4 ents (or parent figures) know what is going on but withhold ac-
5 tion and the expression of opinion until the children's own acts
6 have been carried to completion. In Das fliegende Klassenzimmer
7 a major episode, and in Kampf der Tertia the central plot, turns
8 on the fact that the child protagonists commit forbidden acts in
9 a good cause and plot-tension arises from the problem of whether
10 they will be punished for the one or rewarded for their success
11 in the other. In Kästner's story punishment is turned into re-
12 ward; in Speyer's story the children are punished when they fail
13 to carry out certain necessary steps successfully but they are,
14 in the end, rewarded very fully for their final success.²⁸

15 27. In this connection, cf. the recent speech by the Rector of
16 Tübingen on the University's educational responsibilities, quoted
17 in my discussion of the child's education (p. 39, footnote 36)
18 The idea expressed there -- that the university's responsibility
19 consists in providing the means of self-education -- is entirely
20 congruent with the picture given in Speyer's novel, which was
21 published in 1927.

22 28. In Kampf der Tertia, recognition of the children's success
23 involves a public exhibition of the wounds of battle. The children
24 (adolescents in a boarding school) have fought a mighty battle with
25 the children in a town to rescue the town cats from destruction.
26 Now, their success acknowledged by "the Doctor" (the head of the
27 school) they march past him and past their teachers and comrades
28 in other classes:

29 The Third Form (Tertia) is marching. In front the Great
30 Elector /Class Leader/ breathing heavily, bruised and asthmatic.
31 A half step behind him the honorary leader /a girl/ fresh, rosy,
32 white-gold and brown, uninjured, unwounded and unchangeable,
33 with an impudent smile and a proudly lifted forehead.

34 In the first row Reppert, Lüders and Borst -- Borst who had
35 turned from a fearful, clumsy rabbit-boy into a hero of the
36 Iliad....

37 And all the others followed, scraped, flayed, limping and
bandaged in the most peculiar parts of their bodies. (cont'd)

1 In both cases the children have to keep a secret -- which is, of
2 fer as the eventual goal is concerned, a good one. In both cases
the secret is one that is shared by many people -- including an adult
3 (though not the adults who are, formally, responsible for the
4 children).

5 In these stories there are only two kinds of acceptable sec-
6 rets: the secrets that concern a happy surprise for another person
7 and the secrets that conceal suffering and self-sacrifice for an-
8 other's benefit. And even these secrets are likely to be shared
9 with at least one other person. Mother and father share in the
10 preparation of Christmas for the children -- keeping
11 everything hidden from the children until, the preparations com-
12 plete, the moment of revelation comes. One confidante shares
13 in the knowledge that a young woman has sacrificed her hoped-for
14 marriage to care for her own family. Otherwise secrets and con-
15 cealment carry with them the possibility of danger for the person --
16 usually a child -- who is not open. Making something good again
17 that has gone wrong involves confession of what has been kept sec-
18 ret; the fact that parents usually see through their children may
19 serve to avert the danger in time.²⁹ There is, therefore, double

28. cont'd.

20 But no one had said that he was sick; no one had stayed
21 away from the parade.....

22 So the band marched across the court.

23 When they passed the granary door, the Doctor raised his
24 cap from his crown, from his blowing gray hair.

25 Rapidly the young teachers followed suit and reluctantly
26 the older ones also....

27 And all the pupils on parade, all without exception, pulled
28 off their caps and held them in the air with stiffly outstretched
29 arms. No longer with noise and hurrahs, but silently they now
30 greeted their comrades of the Third Form. (pp. 240-42)

31 29. On this point, cf. also German children's story completions,
32 where the child writers indicate how children -- by blushing, stan-
33 mering, etc. -- give adults clues to insight.

1 assume that parents can bring up their children correctly;
2 parents have insight into their children and children learn to
3 confide in their parents.

4 Although all siblings are assumed, in these stories, to get
5 along with one another and the sibling group is pictured as cohe-
6 sive and friendly, the closest and most affectionate relationship
7 between siblings is that between sister and brother. The warmth
8 of the relationship is expressed especially in the sister's tender
9 attentiveness to her brother's needs; it is the sister rather than
10 the brother who is careful and insightful.³⁰

11 This tender relationship between brother and sister is echoed
12 indirectly in the relationship of the bride and wife to her hus-
13 band's family: from the first moment that the boy brings home his
14 fiancée she enters into the family -- calls the parents "mother"
15 and "father" and becomes a sister to the other siblings. So, for
16 instance, a boy brings home his ^{fiancée} (Braut), whom no one in the family
17 had previously met (Werden und Wachsen):

18 Mrs. Pfäffling stood upstairs, heard happy laughter
19 and called down, "Welcome!" Two gay brown eyes looked
20 up. "That must be Mother!" called a happy voice in a
21 somewhat Bavarian accent and, hurrying ahead of her
22 fiancée, the bride... came upstairs and gave Mrs. Pfäff-
23 ling her hand. "May I say Mother?" She found herself
24 drawn warmly and feelingly to a mother-heart. (p. 54)

25 Scenes of this kind set the stage for the beginning of a new
26 cycle in these stories -- in which the parents become grandparents
27 (and eventually die) and the grownup children begin to bring up
28 their own children -- usually with greater difficulty than their

29 30. In this, these stories echo the fairy tale situation in
30 which sisters are also comforters and protectors of their brothers.

1 own parents experienced, but, for the most part, with no loss
2 success. Following the heroes and heroines through childhood,
3 the reader learns that parents are almost perfect (but not all
4 adults) and that children have difficulties and problems to be
5 solved; following the same heroes and heroines into marriage and
6 parenthood, they discover that parents too have difficulties.
7 But, as they follow the grownup children in their independent
8 careers, it is also clear that the relationship of parents and
9 children is one that does not, essentially, alter: So, for instance,
10 Sapper (Werden und Wachsen) writes about the continuity of the
11 relationship:

12 Just as the parents formerly were pleased when the little
13 ones took their first steps, so now they also were when
14 their big children took their first independent steps in
15 life; and just as they were happy when a new word appeared
16 in the child's vocabulary, so now also as new ideas and
17 ambitions awoke in the young people. For they do not regard
18 themselves as finished, these two parents, and for this very
19 reason they are not, but go ever further onward. With this
20 difference from their youth--that now they have clearly rec-
21 ognized and can keep to the main direction in which they
22 want to go. Because of this they exercise an often uncon-
23 scious leadership over their children. For in an unknown
24 land -- and that is what life is -- we gladly follow those
25 whom we see striding ahead quietly and with dignity, with
26 courage and a cheerful countenance. And so the grown up
27 Pfäffling children follow. (folgten -- also means to obey)
28 willingly and in all freedom of movement the direction taken
29 by their parents. (p. 110)

30 From this it would appear that the individual, moving from
31 childhood and adolescence into adulthood, becomes -- in the ideal
32 world of youth fiction -- both perfectly independent and perfectly
33 dependable. The young adult goes his own way following "new ideas
34 and new ambitions" -- and yet his parents, from whom he has moved
35 away, are still his guides. Just so, Karl May, adventuring in
36 faraway places, is also the embodiment of all that is "truly
37 German."

1 representative of their yearnings in whose writings good always triumphs
2 over evil and who creates the perfect hero figure. As a man, however, he
3 appears very much like the "ewige Deutsche," the "Heimatsucher" of German
4 fiction: he is the outsider who tries to reintegrate himself into his time
5 and society and who achieves this reintegration by living a dream. To
6 understand his position in the past and in the present we must examine Karl
7 May the man, Karl May the writer, and Karl May the symbol.

I. The Man

8 Karl May was born on February 25, 1842, in Hohenstein-Ernstthal,
9 Saxony. His father was a poor weaver yearning for a better existence, who
10 saw in his son the person who would perhaps achieve this better existence,
11 and who therefore pushed him in that direction, towards the one road which
12 was open to the poor, lower classes, the one position which would give them
13 some status -- that of the teacher. Apparently, Karl May was blind for
14 four years of his early childhood. During this time his grandmother played
15 an important role in his existence. She was a born story teller with an
16 inexhaustible fund of fairy tales and seems to have been the most vivid
17 figure of his childhood, the person to whom he was most drawn. She is the
18 goodness and light of his early years, whereas his father represents the
19 drive, the urge, the pushing force. In his own memoirs (Ich) Karl May
20 draws a sketch of his father who accomplished in ten hours what other
21 weavers needed fourteen hours for, and during these ten hours he was the

1 tyrant against whom no one dared to stand. But during the other four hours
2 "father's other soul smiled at us." The boy stands between the active
3 reality of his father and dream world of the grandmother. His mother and
4 sister remain completely shadowy figures.

5 Very early in his childhood we find that the dream world created by
6 his grandmother assumes reality for him. When his mother fails to obtain a
7 loan which is to help him to attend a seminary he runs away with the idea
8 of going to Spain in order to secure help from a "noble robber" -- a gesture
9 which seems symbolic of his later life.

10 In 1857, with scholarship help, he manages to attend the seminary for
11 teachers in Waldenburg. Around Christmas time his sister pays him a visit
12 and tells him that there is not even enough money in the house to buy candles
13 for the Christmas tree. Karl May steals some candle butts and gives them
14 to her. His comrades denounce him and he is excluded from the seminary as
15 a thief. This first minor misdeed shows him only as thoughtless but
16 goodhearted and has nothing of his later pathological desire for adventure
17 as destiny.

18 Since his misdeed is really a minor one, he is accepted into another
19 seminary and, in 1861, becomes a teacher first in Glauchau, then in a factory
20 school in Chemnitz. Around Christmas time he commits a second misdeed which
21 tosses him out of his apparently secure existence. His roommate on occasion
22 had lent him his watch. Leaving for home on his vacation, Karl May takes
23 the watch as well as a Meerschaum pipe belonging to a friend, which he
24 intends to give to his father. Perhaps he intended to replace the articles
25 after the vacation, but he is arrested immediately and spends six weeks in
26 prison.

1 After this imprisonment his life seems destroyed. He emerges from this
2 experience with the definite feeling that there is only some sort of higher
3 justice which is not man made, and that he is being pushed on the road to
4 evil. In 1865 he is arrested again and condemned to four years of forced
5 labor. The reasons given for this latest arrest are extremely vague. Most
6 sources speak of "seelische Erkrankung" or "seelische Entartung" (spiritual
7 sickness) but do not make the specific accusations very clear. He still
8 dreams of the noble robber, but he himself is nothing but a petty criminal.

9 He is released after three years and the last and wildest period of
10 his Sturm und Drang begins. Apparently it was during this second imprisonment
11 that he first conceived the idea of becoming a writer and of writing for the
12 people. He wants to write simple stories which are to be parables for the
13 higher truth, but fate seems to be against him. In 1869 he is arrested
14 again, this time apparently for larceny which he did not commit. He escapes
15 while being transported to prison, is seen in Marseilles, disappears,
16 reappears in Bohemia, where he is arrested once again. This time he spends
17 four years in prison. When he emerges in 1874 a cleansing and crystallizing
18 process seems to have taken place. The dream is now going to replace reality
19 in his life. He begins to write in 1874 and between then and his death in
20 1912 he writes 64 volumes, most of which deal with adventures written in the
21 first person. He has escaped into another life. Karl May the petty
22 criminal who has spent seven years in prison becomes "Old Shatterhand" and
23 "Kara ben Nemsî"; dream and reality are fused. In his own eyes as well as
24 in the eyes of his readers these hero figures are Karl May.

25 One of the great controversies concerning Karl May from the very

1 beginning deals precisely with these figures: Could Karl May conceivably
2 be Old Shatterhand or Kara ben Nemsî? Had he visited the regions which he
3 so eloquently describes? Despite the controversy one tends to agree with
4 Stolte that such questions are really immaterial for an assessment of his
5 works: "He creates a cosmos; a whole world crystallises around him; it is
6 entirely incidental whether this world resembles reality or not..." (p. 41).

7 The question of Karl May's travels is therefore not of vital importance
8 in the evaluation of his works, but it is interesting to note that two
9 trips can be definitely established from documentary evidence, one to the
10 Orient from April 4, 1899 to August 1900, and the other to America from
11 September 5 to December 20, 1909 -- both long after his most important
12 works dealing with these regions had been written. There may have been a
13 trip in 1866, but it is very problematic.

14 Karl May's first literary activities are in connection with magazines.
15 He directs four magazines for the publisher Münchmeyer: Beobachter an der
16 Elbe, Deutsches Familienblatt, Feierstunden, and Schacht und Hütte. It is
17 in these magazines that he publishes short stories and his first travel
18 tales.

19 Shortly after the beginning of his literary activities he marries Emma
20 Follner, a young orphan who seems to have been beautiful but not very
21 intelligent and whose desire for material comforts leads him to resume his
22 relations with Münchmeyer, which had been interrupted. In four and a half
23 years he writes five serials which are published under a pseudonym. These
24 serials are not usually included among the works of Karl May. According
25 to sources sympathetic to him they were substantially changed by the

1 publisher without Karl May's knowledge and seem to have been based on an
2 appeal to sensationalism. They will later become the source of great trouble
3 for him.

4 At the same time, however, he continues to write youth stories, many of
5 which appear in the Gute Kameraden (a magazine which is still published)
6 and his fame continues to grow. As the Grosse Brockhaus (1928-1935) puts it,
7 he achieves middle class respectability (Bürgerliches Ansehen), fortune and
8 extraordinary popularity -- and all that in a relatively short time. Although
9 his oriental travel stories begin to appear in 1880, the Winnetou stories --
10 which first appear separately around 1892 -- are the real basis of his fame.
11 Until 1898 he lives through the really happy period of his life, everyone
12 expects his books, they are recommended by educators and particularly by
13 the Catholic priesthood. The public thinks of him as being the Old Shatterhand
14 of the Winnetou stories. His dream has engulfed his life, he lives his
15 dream. A famous anecdote tells of his conversation with a friend who is
16 admiring his collection of arms. The friend asks: "Sincerely, how did you
17 acquire all these arms?" Karl May, astonished, replies: "Didn't you read
18 my Winnetou?"

19 In 1899, at the height of his fame, he leaves for the Orient with his
20 wife and it is during this trip that the catastrophe suddenly breaks: Old
21 Shatterhand, Kara ben Nemsî, the noble hero, is in reality someone of shady
22 past, who has served prison sentences! While he is on his trip Münchmeyer
23 dies and his successor, contrary to all agreements, publishes the early
24 anonymous volumes under Karl May's name. He discovers for the first time
25 the changes and additions that had been made, but the press decries his

1 immorality and the scandal breaks. May accuses the publisher but attacks
2 are heaped on him from all sides. He cannot prove that the new edition
3 is illegal because the documents concerning the agreements have been
4 destroyed by his wife. His marriage ends in a divorce and once again he
5 seems to be, if not completely the outsider, certainly on the fringes of
6 society.

7 But once again this upheaval serves as a catharsis -- as a "Läuterung" --
8 and results in a reintegration into society through a new creative effort,
9 through a new marriage. He sees this period as one of atonement, of
10 achieving joy and peace through suffering. His goal now becomes to create
11 something really great, something that will translate all his experiences
12 into great dramatic forms:

13 In any case I kept on to the goal of my desire to create at the end
14 of my life, after having reached maturity, a great beautiful poetic
15 work, a harmony of liberating thoughts, where I dared to draw light out
16 of darkness, joy out of unhappiness and happiness out of my suffering.
17 To give fairy tales and parables now in order at the end of life to
18 arrive at truth and reality...2

19 Though he does not write a real drama, as he had hoped, he achieves,
20 at the end of his life, one of the most interesting of his books, his
21 autobiography: Ich, in which he sets forth his credo of loving all those who
22 have made him suffer. Three years before his death he travels in America
23 with his wife Klara May. Towards the very end of his life the persecutions

24 2. "Für alle Fälle aber hielt ich mein Wunschziel fest, am Abend meines
25 Lebens, nach vollendeter Reife, ein grosses, schönes Dichterwerk zu
26 schaffen, einen Zusammenklang erlösender Gedanken worin ich mich erkümmte
27 Licht aus meiner Finsternis zu schöpfen, Glück aus meinem Unglück, und
28 Freude aus meiner Qual. -- Jetzt Märchen und Gleichnisse geben, um dann am
29 Schlusse des Lebens daraus die Wahrheit und die Wirklichkeit zu ziehen..."

1 against him die out and he once more achieves fame. One week before his
2 death he addresses great crowds in Vienna expressing his great leitmotif:
3 "Empor ins Reich der Edelmenschen" (Upward into The Realm of Men of Noble
4 Character). On March 30, 1912 he dies in his villa "Shatterhand" in
5 Radeboul near Dresden.

6 His fame, however, does not die with him. To date 11 million copies of
7 his works have been printed, and it seems that not all of his works have as
8 yet been published. According to information given in the most recent
9 Austrian edition, (no date, but must have appeared between 1946 and 1950)
10 his books have been translated into twenty languages. A Karl May Foundation
11 organized after his death and directed by his wife Klara until her death
12 in 1944, and now under the direction of the Landesverwaltung Sachsen is
13 keeping alive the realities of his dream. In the garden of his villa a
14 "Wild West" block house serves as Karl May Museum and, preserving the fiction
15 of reality, perpetuates his fame. The Romanführer (1951) includes him among
16 those writers whose fame lives on and thus lifts him out of the realm of
17 the pure youth fiction into that enjoyed by adults, and, in spite of the
18 decades that lie between his imaginary travels and the present, a recent
19 German traveler in this country remarked about the great landscapes of the
20 West: "It really seemed quite familiar, for I had read so much about it in
21 Karl May."³

22 3. How much Karl May is part of the experience of German youth can
23 certainly be seen from the fact that his books, in particular Winnetou, form
24 the basis of the "Indianer" games which are a great favorite.

II. Karl May The Writer

1 Among all of Karl May's works, the most famous are doubtlessly the six
2 volumes dealing with his travels through the Orient⁴ and the three volumes⁵
3 dealing with the American West. The six Orient volumes were the first to
4 appear, between 1880-1887. Winnetou followed in the 1890s, but the ideas
5 must have been in Karl May's head already, for the story of the Orient trip
6 seems to take place after the Wild West experiences: Kara ben Nemsî, the hero
7 of the Orient volumes, is older than Old Shatterhand in the first two
8 Winnetou volumes, his guns are the ones he acquired in America; he constantly
9 refers to his American experiences and he uses techniques of "creeping up"
10 on the enemy learned from the Indians.

11 The six Orient volumes are a unit and form a complete circle. The
12 very first adventure in the desert leads to the series of subsequent
13 adventures and involves a mystery which is solved at the end of the series;
14 a whole series of subsidiary -- one is almost tempted to say tributary --
15 adventures, which have their inception in the first volume feed into
16 the main stream of the story but are gradually solved in the successive
17 volumes and disappear again until only the one pure stream is left. The
18 first volume, therefore, seems to be a series of unrelated adventures, so
19 that this book has little cohesion and the various chapters appear to be
20 somewhat disconnected. In contrast, the subsequent volumes flow smoothly

21 4. 1) Durch die Wüste; 2) Durchs wilde Kurdistan; 3) Von Bagdad nach
22 Stambul; 4) In den Schluchten des Balkan; 5) Durch das Land der Skipetaren;
23 6) Der Schut.

24 5. 1) Winnetou, vol. I; 2) Winnetou, vol. II; 3) Winnetous Erben.

1 one into the other, each subsequent volume beginning exactly where the
 2 other left off. Out of all of these volumes emerges the noble figure of
 3 Kara ben Nemsi, who is superior to all around him because of his nobility,
 4 his goodness, his physical strength, his astuteness and cleverness as well
 5 as the superiority of his extraordinary arms and unbelievable horse. It
 6 is his nobility of heart, his profound love for the oppressed which makes
 7 him fight evil, but he is as magnanimous towards his enemies as towards his
 8 friends. As he expresses it in his speech to Marah Durimeh (Durchs wilde
 9 Kurdistan) his aim is to teach by example, and, through his example, to make men
 10 better. (Cf. below.)

Volume I: Durch die Wüste

11 Accompanied by his servant, friend and guide, the little Arab Hadschi
 12 Halef Omar, Karl May travels through the regions of North Africa towards the
 13 Sahara. Since he cannot pronounce the German name, Halef calls him Kara
 14 ben Nemsi (Kara son of the Germans), and this is the name by which he becomes
 15 famous throughout the whole realm of the sultan: North Africa, the desert,
 16 Kurdistan, and the Balkans.

17 In this first volume the adventures begin, each seeming an entity
 18 in itself and yet each carried through ten further volumes until they are
 19 finally resolved one by one.

20 Adventure No. 1: Trained through his Indian experience in reading foot
 21 prints, Kara ben Nemsi picks up the trail of two horses and a camel and he
 22 and Halef follow that trail. After a while they find the body of a European
 23 killed by a bullet. On his finger he has a simple wedding band inscribed
 24 EP, juillet 1830, which Kara ben Nemsi takes off and puts on his finger.
 25 Not far from the dead man he finds a piece of newspaper which tells of the

1 murder of a French merchant in Blida and the search for an Armenian trader
2 suspected of the crime. Kara ben Nemsî picks up the trail of the two
3 murderers. Halef, who at first had laughed at his attempt to read the
4 prints, is now profoundly impressed by his knowledge and astuteness. The
5 two soon reach the two murderers who are accused point blank by Kara ben
6 Nemsî. He takes away their loot but lets them escape for the time being,
7 telling Halef that he will be able to pick up their trail quite easily since
8 one of the horses has a very distinctive gait. After a while they follow
9 the murderers through the desert towards the salt lake of the Schott el
10 Dscherid. (Karl May uses this part for a long and detailed description
11 of the landscape, one of his devices which lends vividness and reality to
12 his books.)

13 Adventure No. 2: Kara ben Nemsî and Halef undertake to cross the deadly
14 Schott el Dscherid with Halef's friend Sadek as guide. (Long and detailed
15 description of the Schott, extremely vivid.) The crossing is extremely
16 dangerous and to lose footing on the narrow trail means certain death in
17 the slimy salt swamp. The Schott is not flat but full of hills and hummocks
18 so that travelers can easily be ambushed. Half way across, their guide is
19 shot by the murderers and disappears in the Schott. Kara ben Nemsî is able
20 to kill one of the men, but the other escapes. As they find out later, his
21 name is Hamd el Amasat. They are certain that he is the real murderer and
22 also the Armenian referred to in newspaper clipping.

23 Halef and Kara ben Nemsî are in great danger but they are rescued by
24 Omar ben Sadek, Sadek's son, who swears the terrible oath of the blood feud
25 and goes with them to revenge his father's death. After safely crossing the
26 Schott, they reach a small oasis where they find Hamd el Amasat (vivid
27 account here of Turkish officials in North Africa, again one of the devices
28 by which Karl May's narrative achieves its vividness and sense of truthfulness).
29 The official lets Hamd el Amasat escape and Omar follows his trail.

30 Adventure No. 3: Quite some time later. Kara ben Nemsî and Halef are now
31 in Egypt, in Kertassi. Kara ben Nemsî briefly alludes to an adventure in
32 Cairo, where he was able to help some important official who then supplied
33 him with a very special passport which gives him real standing wherever
34 the Sultan's rule reaches. (Not only does Kara ben Nemsî show himself to
35 be superior in every respect, but he has now acquired an official standing.
36 Whenever his own astuteness cannot get him out of an adventure safely the
37 special "firman" will do it.)

38 Halef, who loves to exaggerate, has spread Kara ben Nemsî's fame as
39 hekim, doctor, and he finds himself called to cure the wife of the rich
40 Abraham Mamur who lives on the Nile, near Kertassi. Kara ben Nemsî insults
41 Abraham Mamur by insisting that he must see the patient; Mamur finally
42 consents on condition that he himself will be present and she appears heavily
43 veiled. While Kara ben Nemsî holds her pulse she whispers to him in Serbian
44 "save Senitsa." Kara ben Nemsî promises Abraham that he will heal his wife

1 in about five days. When he returns to Kertassi he meets an old river captain
2 whom he knew previously and who tells him that he has a passenger, a young
3 man who is looking for his kidnapped bride. His name is Isla ben Maflei.
4 He tells Kara ben Nensi the story of his bride who was sold to an Egyptian
5 by a supposed friend of her father Barud el Amasat in Skutari. Both he and
6 her father have been searching for her. Her name is Senitza. Kara ben Nensi
7 tells him then of Abraham Mamur and together, through difficulties and
8 obstacles, they rescue her. They are pursued by boat by Abraham Mamur who
9 catches up with them, but in the end Kara ben Nensi is able to convince the
10 authorities of Abraham Mamur's guilt and he has to flee.

11 Adventure No. 4: Karl May and Halef have reached the Red Sea (Karl May
12 inserts here a long quotation from the Old Testament and then discusses the
13 continuity in the appearance of the landscape). They take passage on a
14 sambuk which is attacked by pirates and Kara ben Nensi and Halef are made
15 prisoners. The pirate ship lands so that the leader Abu Seif - Father of
16 the Sword - may make a pilgrimage to Mekka. Kara ben Nensi and Halef are
17 able to overpower the guards and escape. They reach Dschidda from where
18 Halef is going to leave for Mekka. Kara ben Nensi secretly decides that
19 he will attempt to get there too.

20 Adventure No. 5: Karl May and Halef are taking a ride together near
21 Dschidda and meet a Beduin whom they discover to be woman. When she learns
22 from them that they know Abu Seif and also that Halef is going on a pilgrimage
23 to Mekka, she asks them to follow her to the "cursed branch" of the Ateibeh
24 (an Arab tribe). Malek, their sheik and the woman's father, tells the
25 story of his tribe: Abu Seif stole his daughter, Ansoha, and forced her
26 to marry him. After some years she escaped and returned to her tribe,
27 bringing her daughter Hanneh. On a pilgrimage to Mekka the Ateibeh met
28 Abu Seif's men and fought on the sacred soil around Mekka. As a punishment
29 they have been cursed and can never enter the Holy city. Since Hanneh,
30 the granddaughter of the sheik, has never been there yet and cannot go as a
31 young girl, they ask Halef to contract a sham marriage and take her to
32 Mekka with him and to return her safely after the pilgrimage. Kara ben Nensi
33 is to wait with the Ateibeh until Halef returns.

34 Adventure No. 6: While Halef and Hanneh are in Mekka, Ansoha helps Karl
35 May to enter the Holy city. He is able to visit some of the holy places
36 and even to get some of the water from the Sem-Sem well, but suddenly
37 he meets Abu Seif who recognizes him. He has to flee and is pursued by Abu
38 Seif who, in turn, is followed by Halef and Hanneh who also recognized Kara
39 ben Nensi. In the end Halef is able to kill Abu Seif. In gratitude Malek
40 consents to a real wedding between Halef and Hanneh, who have fallen in
41 love with each other.

1 Adventure No. 7: Karl May has traveled with the Ateibeh and has also
2 made some excursions alone. On a visit to Meskat he meets an Englishman,
3 Sir David Lindsay, who wants to conduct archeological excavations and
4 engages him as guide. Karl May sends a messenger to the Ateibeh and
5 discovers that Halef has been sent to the Schammar Arabs as representative
6 of the Ateibeh, to ask whether they could be received into that tribe.

7 Adventure No. 8: Lindsey and Karl May travel along the Tigris and after an
8 adventure where they recapture their stolen horses meet up with the Haddedihi
9 under their Sheik Mohammed Emin. The Haddedihi are a subtribe of the
10 Schammar. After an initially hostile reception, they become the guests of
11 the tribe. During the meal Mohammed Emin tells Kara ben Nemsî that the
12 Haddedihi had been attacked by another tribe. He sent his son to the Pasha
13 of Mossul to protest but his son was made a prisoner and sent somewhere.
14 The Schammar are now at war with the Pasha who has also stirred up some of
15 the neighboring tribes against them.

16 Adventure No. 9: Mohammed Emin hopes to enlist Kara ben Nemsî's help and
17 hopes to persuade him to find out the plans of the two other tribes. As a
18 prize he promises him one of his most beautiful horses, the black stallion
19 Rih (the wind). Kara ben Nemsî shows his extraordinary prowess on horseback
20 (using tricks he learned from the Indians) and is allowed to ride Rih on the
21 reconnaissance trip. After several adventures during which he is captured
22 by one of the enemy tribes and escapes again by killing a lion, he returns to
23 the Haddedihi with all the information about the enemy's plans.

24 Adventure No. 10: Karl May promises to stay with the Haddedihi and fight
25 against their enemies. He trains them to fight in European formation and
26 disposes them in a sort of pincer movement. In the meantime Halef and the
27 Ateibeh join the Haddedihi and are accepted into the tribe. The Ateibeh,
28 Haddedihi, and their allies (tribes convinced by the eloquence of Karl May
29 to fight with the Haddedihi) fight a victorious battle against their enemies
30 in the "valley of the steps." (The battle becomes famous all over the Arab
31 world and with it, of course, the name of Kara ben Nemsî.) Most of the
32 enemy tribes are made prisoner and under Kara ben Nemsî's beneficent advice
33 the peace terms imposed upon them are lenient.

34 Adventure No. 11: Kara ben Nemsî is sent to collect some of the herds of
35 the enemy tribes as reparation payments. He discovers there three prisoners,
36 Jesidis (i.e. called devil worshippers). He frees them and brings them to
37 the Haddedihi. (These Jesidis have a semi Christian religion.) These men
38 have a message to Mohammed Emin from his son Amad el Ghandur, who has been
39 taken by the Pasha's men to the frontier fortress of Anadije. It is decided
40 that Mohammed Emin, Kara ben Nemsî and Halef will accompany the Jesidi who
41 live in Kurdistan and will go to Anadije in order to free Amad el Ghandur.
42 They leave Sir David Lindsay behind.

Adventure No. 12: On the way there Karl May and Halef stop in Mosul where Karl May visits the Pasha, impresses him with his importance, and learns of his plans to attack the Jesidi, who are going to celebrate a great religious festival. When they reach the Jesidi Kara ben Nemsî is able to warn them of the Pasha's plans and thus enable them to take precautions.

These are the adventures of the first volume. The following five volumes pick up each of these adventures and carry each to its solution. The last adventure is the first one to end and then the story works backwards step by step until the very first problem is solved in the last volume.

Volume II: Durohs Wilde Kurdistan

1. Karl May helps the Jesidi to defeat the Turks and then stays with them to watch their great festival and to learn the Kurdish language, which he is able to do in three weeks. Halef, who had been against the "devil worshippers" also helps them against the Turks and when Kara ben Nemsî asks him why he says: "Don't you yourself always help those who are in the right, without asking whether they believe in Allah or some other god?" Kara ben Nemsî's example is working on Halef to make him a better man.

2. Karl May, Halef and Mohammed Emin leave the Jesidi for Amadije. (Here Karl May inserts a long quote from Prester John and a discourse on the Christian sects living in the mountains of Kurdistan and their history.) They stop overnight in the village of Spinduri where Kara ben Nemsî wins over the chief of the village, who gives him a beautiful dog and also asks him to take a present to his son-in-law, the Bei of Gumri. In Spinduri they meet David Lindsay who has been following them. Kara ben Nemsî, on his magnificent horse, with his dog and his guns, rides on accompanied by his companions. They reach Amadije, where they have to stay quite some time, but in the end -- thanks of course to Kara ben Nemsî's resourcefulness -- they are able to free Amad el Ghandur. While waiting for the propitious moment, Kara ben Nemsî is able to cure a young girl and thus wins the gratitude of the girl's great grandmother, a very mysterious figure. She tells him that her name is Marah Durimeh and that if he ever should be in difficulties while traveling through Kurdistan towards Bagdad to ask for the Ru'i Kulyan, the spirit of the cave.

3. On their way to Bagdad, near Gumri, Kara ben Nemsî and his companions are held up by a group of Kurds who are trying to steal their horses, particularly Kara ben Nemsî's beautiful Arab stallion. They shoot in defense and kill one of the men, thus becoming victims of the blood feud.

1 Finally they reach Gumri. The Bei is their friend, particularly
 2 since Kara ben Namsi had been able to help two of the Bei's men in Amadije.
 3 As guests of the Bei they go with him on a bear hunt. They are attacked
 4 by Chaldean Christians (Nestorians) and all are made prisoners. Thanks
 5 to Kara ben Namsi and Marah Durimeh, who is a former princess, peace is
 6 finally re-established.

7 Towards the end of this volume Karl May speaks of himself and his
 8 reasons for traveling. Sitting on a stone and looking out over the
 9 landscape of the mountains of Kurdistan he thinks about his travels:

10 My thoughts ranged back over mountains and valleys, over the
 11 land and over the sea, back to my own country. How wonderfully
 12 God had led me until now and watched over me while great, well-
 13 equipped expeditions had perished and had been wiped out in these
 14 same regions where I had found a friendly welcome. What was the
 15 reason for this? How many books had I read about foreign regions
 16 and their peoples and how many prejudices had I absorbed! I had
 17 found many a country, many a people, many a tribe very different
 18 and much better than they had been described... Even the most
 19 savage people respect the stranger if they themselves are respected
 20 by him....⁶

21 In his conversation with the old Marah Durimeh she says to him:
 22 "You too are struggling with life, with men around you, and with man
 23 within you."⁷

24 6. "Meine Gedanken schweiften zurück über Berge und Tal, über Land und
 25 Meer, zur Heimat. Wie wunderbar hatte mich Gott bis hierher geleitet und
 26 beschützt, während ganze, grosse, wohlausgerüstete Expeditionen da zugrunde
 27 gegangen und vernichtet worden waren wo ich die freundlichste Aufnahme
 28 gefunden hatte! Woran lag das? Wie viele Bücher hatte ich über fremde
 29 Länder und ihre Völker gelesen und wie viele Vorurteile dabel in mich
 30 aufgenommen! Ich hatte manches Land, manches Volk, manchen Stamm ganz anders
 31 und besser gefunden als sie mir geschildert worden waren... Selbst der
 32 Wildeste achtet den Fremden wenn er sich selbst von diesem geachtet sieht...."

33 7. "... auch du ringst mit dem Leben, ringst mit den Menschen ausser
 34 dir und mit den Menschen in dir selbst" (p. 583).

1 Finally he tells her why it is that again and again he leaves his
2 country:

3 Who languishes in the desert, learns to appreciate the value of
4 the drop of water which saves the life of the thirsty. And who has
5 known sorrow without having found a helping hand, he knows how
6 wonderful is the love for which he has yearned in vain. In such a
7 way my whole heart is filled by that which I did not find, by that
8 love which made the Son of the Father come down to earth to bring the
9 message that all men are brothers and the children of one Father.⁸

10 After Marah Durineh's indictment of missionaries who do nothing but
11 sow discord and quarrels Karl May gives his real credo:

12 You yourself have said that you are wishing for the messengers
13 of action. God divides his gifts differently. To one man he gives
14 the gift of conquering speech, to another he gives some other way of
15 action. The gift of speech is denied to me. That is why I cannot
16 remain at home. I must go out again and again, in order to teach, not
17 by words, but by being useful to all those with whom I stop a while.
18 I have been in countries and with peoples whose names you hardly know.
19 I have stayed with white, yellow, brown and black men; everywhere I
20 have sown love and charity. And always I have been richly recompensed
21 if they said after I left: "This stranger knew no fear. He could
22 do more and knew more than we did and yet was our friend. He respected
23 our god and loved us. We shall never forget him, for he was a good
24 man, a brave companion -- he was -- a Christian!" In this manner I
25 announce my beliefs. And if I should find only one person who will
26 learn to respect and love my beliefs through me, my work has not been
27 done in vain and I shall gladly lie down to my last rest somewhere on
28 this earth.

29 8. "Wer in der Wüste schmachtete, der lernt den Wert des Tropfens
30 schätzen der dem Dürstenden das Leben rettet. Und wer Leid trägt, ohne
31 dass sich ihm eine Hand helfend entgegenstreckt, der weiss, wie köstlich
32 die Liebe ist, nach der er sich vergebens sehnte. So ist mein ganzes Herz
33 erfüllt von dem was ich nicht fand, von jener Liebe, die den Sohn des
34 Vaters auf die Erde trieb, um ihr die Botschaft zu verkünden, dass alle
35 Menschen Brüder sind und die Kinder eines Vaters" (p. 584).

36 9. "Du selbst hast gesagt dass du Boten der Tat wünschst. Gott teilt
37 nun die Gaben verschieden aus. Dem einen gibt er die erobernde Rede, und
38 dem andern befiehlt er, auf andere Art zu wirken. Mir ist die Gabe der
39 Rede versagt. Darum lässt es mich in der Heimat nimmer ruhen. Ich muss
40 immer wieder hinaus, um zu lehren, nicht durch das Wort, sondern dadurch
41 dass ich jedem bei dem ich einkehre, nützlich bin. Ich war in Ländern und
42 bei Völkern deren Namen du kaum kennst. Ich bin eingekehrt bei weiss, gelb,
43 braun und schwarz gefarbenen Menschen; bei ihnen allen habe ich Liebe und

Volume III: Von Bagdad nach Stambul

1 Halef, Kara ben Nemsî, the two Arabs and the Englishman continue
 2 their return trip to the Schammar region, south through Kurdistan towards
 3 Bagdad. They are traveling through dangerous territory. They make a
 4 prisoner who is freed through Kara ben Nemsî's intercession and thus becomes
 5 indebted to him. He is the brother of a sheik who treats the travelers
 6 with great animosity. After various adventures the sheik becomes their
 7 prisoner. The two Arabs want to kill him, Kara ben Nemsî opposes it and
 8 they quarrel. Kara ben Nemsî returns the horse to Mohammed Emin. In the
 9 end Kara ben Nemsî wins the Haddedihi back to his side, but in their desire
 10 to placate him they now release the prisoner before he told them to do so.
 11 In the end this is their undoing. While they all scatter to hunt for meat,
 12 Kara ben Nemsî and Halef hear shots in the distance fired in rapid succession--
 13 they rush there and find a group of Persian travelers attacked by the
 14 sheik and his men, and the two Arabs are helping the Persians. Halef,
 15 Kara ben Nemsî and the Englishman rush to the rescue and defeat the Kurds.
 16 The sheik is killed, Halef and Kara ben Nemsî are wounded, Mohammed Emin
 17 is killed. After they recover from their wounds they bury Mohammed Emin.
 18 During the burial Karl May's thoughts again stray:

19 Who could only go with the sun! Who could follow it far, far
 20 from here to the West, where its rays are still shining over one's
 21 own country! Here, on this solitary hill the longing for home reached
 22 for me, this yearning from which no one in foreign countries can
 23 escape who has a feeling heart in his breast. "Ubi bene, ibi patria"
 24 is a saying the cold indifference of which can only be accepted by
 25 homeless men without sensitivity. The impressions of youth can never
 26 be erased completely and memories can sleep, but never die. They
 27 awake when we expect it the least and bring that yearning whose pain
 28 can hardly stoken the soul...¹⁰

29 9. (cont'd.) Barmherzigkeit gesagt. Und immer war ich beleuchtet, wenn
 30 es dann hinter mir erklang: Dieser Fremdling kannte keine Furcht. Er
 31 konnte und wusste mehr als wir und war doch unser Freund. Er ehrte unseren
 32 Gott und liebte uns. Wir werden ihn nie vergessen, denn er war ein guter
 33 Mensch, ein wackerer Gefährte; er war -- ein Christ! Auf diese Weise
 34 verkünde ich meinen Glauben. Und sollte ich auch nur einen einzigen Menschen
 35 finden, der diesen Glauben durch mich achten und vielleicht lieben lernt,
 36 so ist mein Tagewerk nicht umsonst getan, und ich will mich irgendwo auf
 37 dieser Erde gern zur letzten Ruhe legen" (p. 586).

38 10. "Wer doch mit der Sonne ziehen könnte! Wer ihr doch folgen könnte
 39 weit, weit fort zum Westen, wo ihre Strahlen noch voll und warm die Heimat
 40 beleuchten! Hier auf der einsamen Höhe streckte das Heimweh seine Hand nach
 41 mir aus, das Heimweh dem in der Fremde kein Mensch entrinnen kann, in dessen
 42 Brust ein fühlendes Herz schlägt. 'Ubi bene ibi patria' ist ein Spruch dessen
 43 kalte Gleichgültigkeit nur im Lebengemütsarmer, heimatloser Menschen ihre
 44 Bestätigung findet. Die Eindrücke der Jugend sind niemals völlig zu verwischen
 45 und die Erinnerung kann wohl schlafen, aber nicht sterben. Sie erwacht, wenn
 46 wir es am allerwenigsten erwarten und bringt jene Sehnsucht über uns an deren
 47 Weh das Gemüt sehr schwer erkranken kann... " (p. 173).

1 After the burial Amad el Ghandur disappears leaving Rih behind for
2 Karl May. He is going to avenge his father's death.

3 Karl May decides to accompany the Persian and his family to Bagdad.
4 The Persian is fleeing from political persecution and also trying to
5 join the "death caravan" of pilgrims who are carrying the dead of the
6 Shiit faith to their holy places for burial. After a series of adventures
7 the Persian and all the members of his family are killed. Kara ben Nemsî
8 and Halef fall ill with the plague. (A very full description is given
9 by Karl May and also how he cured himself and Halef.) They are separated
10 from the Englishman and finally reach the Haddedihi to whom they bring the
11 news of Mohammed Emin's death. Amad el Ghandur has not yet returned.
12 Halef has a little son, named Kara ben Halef. After a prolonged stay with
13 the Haddedihi, Karl May decides to go to Damascus and then to Palestine.
14 Halef will come with him.

15 (At this point Adventures 8 to 12 of the first volume have really
16 been carried to their completion.)

17 On their way to Damascus Karl May and Halef meet a merchant and his
18 servants. A brief conversation reveals him to be the uncle of Isla ben
19 Maflei, Senitza's bridegroom. He begs Kara ben Nemsî to be his guest.
20 While Kara ben Nemsî and Halef are exploring the town they run into Abraham
21 Mamur and later discover that he is posing as a nephew of the merchant
22 (who had never seen this nephew and only knows him to be such by a letter
23 he has brought). The next day Mamur disappears with a great many valuables
24 and Kara ben Nemsî decides to pursue him together with the robbed man.
25 During the pursuit they again meet Sir David Lindsay. Kara ben Nemsî is
26 briefly made prisoner by Abraham Mamur, who, believing him doomed, brags
27 that he is a chieftain of a robber band which has branches all over the
28 lands of the Sultan. Karl May escapes again, but so does Mamur. Karl
29 May follows his trail to Istanbul where he stays in the home of Isla ben
30 Maflei. The threads of the story gather in a knot: Karl May comes across
31 Omar ben Sadek, who is still pursuing his father's murderer. Omar kills
32 Abraham Mamur and gets the jewels back. In the meantime, however, Karl
33 May has discovered that the two villains, Hamdel Amasat and Barud el
34 Amasat (cf. Durch die Wüste), are trying to get the wealth of the family of
35 Isla ben Maflei's other uncle, who lives in Adrianople, and also the wealth
36 of a French merchant, Henri Galingré. It is the uncle in Adrianople whose
37 son had been killed and then impersonated by Abraham Mamur. Karl May leaves
38 Istanbul and Lindsay, but has with him Halef, Omar and Osko, Senitza's
39 father who still wants to avenge his daughter's kidnapping. In Adrianople
40 they are able to warn Isla ben Maflei's uncle that the "saintly" man who is
41 staying with him is in reality Barud el Amasat, his son's murderer. The
42 man is imprisoned, but escapes with the help of accomplices. Karl May
43 finds a mysterious note from Hamd el Amasat to Barud and decides to pursue
44 the escaped prisoner. The four men continue their road into the mountains
45 of the Balkans.

Volume IV: In den Schluchten des Balkans

1 Karl May discovers that the men he is pursuing are members of a wide-
2 flung organization of outlaws and continues his pursuit in order to prevent
3 further evil. These men are known as those "who have gone into the mountains"
4 and the name of their leader is the "Schut." Karl May is able always to
5 enlist the forces of good on his side, and to persuade people to help him
6 by telling them that he is not a policeman but that he is always fighting
7 on the side of the good. One of the men he meets tells him, "Your soul is
8 kind and clear, your eye is transparent and your heart hides no treason..."
9 (p. 40).

10 Through his ingenuity and his strength Karl May gets himself and
11 his companions out of various predicaments and dangers. He is always able
12 to surprise the robbers whom he is pursuing and to overhear their secrets;
13 they believe that he has a pact with the devil. Wherever he stops he does
14 good to the deserving poor (usually by giving them money which he was able
15 to take away from the robbers). Always he takes advantage of some moment
16 of "leisure" to speak of the Christian religion to the Moslems whom he meets.

17 In one village while helping someone he hears of a supposedly saintly
18 hermit and discovers that this man is in reality an aid of the Schut.

Volume V: Durch das Land der Skipetaren

19 Kara ben Nensi is able to expose the hermit, but the police, who are
20 bribed, let him escape together with the other men whom Kara ben Nensi had
21 been pursuing, though the hermit has been wounded. This book is one long
22 pursuit with various adventures. Finally Kara ben Nensi is able to interpret
23 correctly the note he had found in Adrianople. He knows now who the Schut is.

Volume VI: Der Schut

24 The outlaws attempt to lure Kara ben Nensi to a cave where they have
25 held men for ransom. He pretends to be interested in this cave, which is
26 supposed to contain riches, but of course is able to discover the secret.
27 On their way there Kara ben Nensi and his companions stay with a man who
28 sells charcoal; he is the brother-in-law of the charcoal burner who is also
29 the guardian of the famous cave. Kara ben Nensi kills a bear, but not
30 before the bear has killed the hermit (who had been left behind by his
31 companions).

1 On the way to the jewel cave Kara ben Nemsî again surprises the
 2 outlaws ambushing him and overpowers them. One of them, in his surprise
 3 at seeing Kara ben Nemsî appear so suddenly, steps back towards the cliff
 4 and falls into the abyss. After tying up the outlaws, Kara ben Nemsî
 5 and his companions continue to the jewel cave. There Kara ben Nemsî of
 6 course is able to overhear a very important conversation from which he
 7 gathers that his friend David Lindsay is in the power of the Schut and is
 8 going to be brought to the jewel cave. He also overhears that Henri
 9 Galingré is held prisoner by the Schut and that Hamd el Amasat is bringing
 10 Galingré's family and that they are all to be killed. Kara ben Nemsî
 11 returns to his companions and finds that Osko has left them to go back to
 12 the cliff where they had left the outlaws, one of whom had been Barud el
 13 Amasat. Kara ben Nemsî goes back after him and sees Osko and Barud
 14 struggling on top of the cliff. Barud falls into the precipice and Sonitra
 15 is avenged, and adventure No. 3 is completed.

16 The two men return to the jewel cave, this time openly, and manage
 17 to dupe everyone. They ride off and return on the following day to free
 18 Sir David Lindsay. Together with Lindsay they ride to the village where
 19 the Schut lives. He is a highly respected man in the community, but
 20 Kara ben Nemsî is able to unmask him and free all the prisoners, including
 21 Galingré. Galingré is the uncle of the man whom Kara ben Nemsî found
 22 murdered in the desert and he is able to return to him the wedding ring which
 23 he had taken from the dead man. All together they pursue the Schut who is
 24 trying to escape and reach Hamd el Amasat with Galingré's family. Kara
 25 ben Nemsî pursues the Schut on Rih on a high plateau which is criss-crossed
 26 by deep crevices. The Schut's horse loses its footing and falls into one
 27 of the crevices. In the meantime Omar pursues Hamd el Amasat, who has
 28 abandoned Galingré's family. Though Omar had sworn on the Schott to kill
 29 his father's murderer, (also the murderer of Galingré's nephew) Kara ben
 30 Nemsî's influence is such that he fights with him, and having blinded him,
 31 lets him live.

32 The first and second adventures of the first volume are now completed.
 33 Karl May has accomplished his task, has freed the Balkans from the evil
 34 influence of the Schut and his band, whom he has destroyed (or rather
 35 pursued by him they have destroyed themselves), good has triumphed and
 36 Karl May will return home. Before they separate he gives Rih to Halef.

Epilogue (appended to volume VI)

37 Because of the numerous letters he has received Karl May is going
 38 to add a few pages to his last book:

39 ... I see to my great joy that I shall have to add an epilogue.

40 I say to my joy, for many hundreds of letters, received from all parts
 41 of the Fatherland and abroad, have proved to me what a close relationship
 42 has grown up between myself and my readers. What the newspapers have
 43 written about the six volumes is very pleasant and honors me; but I am

1 much more touched by the many letters from old and young, high and
2 humble, and to see that not only have I become a friend of my readers,
3 but that my companions share in this also.

4 It is especially my good, faithful Halef Omar whose later fate
5 and present situation interests a good many. I can safely say that
6 this dear little fellow has won all hearts.¹¹

7 This last adventure tells of Karl May's return to the Haddedihs several
8 years later, with David Lindsay whom he has met in Damascus. They arrive
9 there, after having recovered Rih from horse thieves. There is great rejoicing.
10 Together with a group of Haddedihs under Amad el Ghandur, they take part in
11 a pilgrimage to Mohammed Emin's grave. There, because of Amad el Ghandur's
12 stubbornness, they have to fight the Kurds who have come to the grave of
13 their sheik. In the battle Rih is killed and Karl May grieves over his
14 death and preserves a cloth soaked in Rih's blood. But Rih's strain is not
15 lost: he has a son and a daughter. And when Karl May and Halef part,
16 Karl May knows that his teachings and examples are not lost either: Halef
17 has become a Christian, and he and his son Kara will perpetuate the memory
18 of Kara ben Nemsî.

Winnetou

19 In order to give a still clearer idea of the variety of Karl May's
20 imagination and the enormous sweep of his imaginary travels it is also
21 necessary to glance, if only briefly, at the three volumes of his most
22 popular of all stories: Winnetou. This story deals with the chieftain of
23 the Apaches, Winnetou, his sister Nscho-tachi and his white friend Old

24 11. "... ich sehe mich zu meiner Freude gezwungen einen Ausklang folgen
25 zu lassen.

26 Ich sage, zu meiner Freude, denn viele Hunderte von Zuschriften aus
27 allen Gegenden des Vaterlandes und auch des Auslandes haben mir bewiesen
28 welch ein inniges Seelenbündnis sich zwischen meinen Lesern und mir heraus-
29 gebildet hat. Was die Zeitungen über die bisherigen sechs Bände schreiben
30 ist sehr erfreulich und ehrenvoll; weit tiefer aber berührt es mich, aus so
31 vielen Briefen von alt und jung, vornehm und einfach, hoch und niedrig zu
32 vernehmen, dass nicht nur ich der Freund meiner Leser geworden bin, sondern
33 dass auch meine Gefährten sich eine grosse, allseitige Teilnahme erworben
34 haben.

35 Besonders ist es mein guter, treuer Hadschi Halef Omar, nach dessen
36 späteren Schicksalen und gegenwärtigen Verhältnissen ich gefragt werde.
37 Ich kann getrost sagen, dass sich dieses liebe Kerlchen alle Herzen erobert
38 hat." (p. 502).

1 Shatterhand (Karl May). It is from Winnetou that Karl May, working as a
2 surveyor for the railroad, learns all his Indian tricks -- soon, of course,
3 surpassing even his master. The three volumes which deal with Winnetou's
4 story are more disconnected than the series of the Orient trip but again
5 the central theme is that of the fight of good against evil. The summary
6 in the 1961 Romanführer (Vol. II, p. 452) stresses precisely these points
7 of the Winnetou story:

8 ... both men always support good against evil and help right and
9 decency to achieve victory. Winnetou and Old Shatterhand have only
10 good and noble traits, which are based on a Christian foundation ...
11 In the last volume Winnetou is killed and dies in Old Shatterhand's
12 arms with the words: 'I believe in the Saviour. Winnetou is a
13 Christian.'

14 Old Shatterhand, like Kara ben Nemsî, emerges as the superhuman hero.
15 His physical strength is such that he can fell an enemy with a single blow
16 of his fist (hence he is called Old Shatterhand); he knows the country
17 perfectly, he has mastered foreign languages -- English, of course, but also
18 a variety of Indian dialects; he knows the Indians' habits and customs.
19 He is an excellent horseman; he knows how to read tracks; he is a perfect
20 marksman with his two famous guns, the "bearkiller" and the extraordinary
21 repeater-gun ("Henry-stutzen" -- a unique gun, given to him personally by
22 its inventor, Henry). In their fight against evil Winnetou and Karl May
23 never kill their enemies. They make them harmless and leave the retribution
24 to God.

25 Perhaps the most interesting of all Winnetou books, however, is the
26 very last, written thirty years after the preceding volumes: Winnetous Erben.
27 Here Winnetou transcends the mere travel story. He becomes almost a "saint"

1 (cf. Stolte), a symbol for all that Karl May meant to teach in his books.
2 Reality and dream are so closely woven together that to separate the strands
3 would mean tearing the whole pattern:

4 Old Shatterhand, now a well-known writer, suddenly receives a mysterious
5 message in his home near Dresden, asking him to come to the Wild West, or,
6 rather, what used to be the Wild West. Old friends and old enemies ask him
7 to come and "save Winnetou." There is a movement afoot to build a monument
8 to the dead chieftain and to cheapen (verkitschen) his memory by trying to
9 represent him in a stone monument. Now almost seventy years old, Karl May
10 decides to return to America. He goes accompanied by his wife Klara. Before
11 he goes he is visited by a man named Enter, who is in reality the son of
12 Santer (the villain of the early Winnetou volumes), who pretends he wants
13 to buy the translation rights to Winnetou. In reality, of course, he wants
14 to destroy the book because it dishonors his father's name. Karl May and
15 his wife arrive in America. Although the Wild West is no longer the same,
16 Karl May manages to meet some of his old friends, as well as Santer's sons;
17 he is able to perform several feats (catching horsethieves, for instance).
18 At the place where Winnetou's will had been buried and where, in the earlier
19 Winnetou story, Karl May had found gold they now dig again and find Winnetou's
20 writings. These are to be the real monument to Winnetou, not a statue of
21 stone. In the end a new spirit triumphs, a new future breaks for the Indian
22 tribes:

23 ... The great past of a people does not live on only in monuments of
24 stone or metal, but also in the spirit and the aspirations of the
25 grandchildren who show themselves worthy of the heritage of the
26 fathers by valuing it, holding on to it and building on to it, developing
27 it further as a blessing for themselves and for all humanity.¹²

III. Karl May The Symbol

28 It is perhaps this last volume which shows best how closely life and
29 dream had become interwoven in Karl May's own thought. As in the Epilogue
30 to the Orient volumes, he presents his reader with a true situation into

31 12. "Denn die grosse Vergangenheit eines Volkes lebt nicht einzig fort
32 in Denkmälern von Erz und Stein, sondern im Geist und im Streben später
33 Enkel, die des Erbes der Väter würdig zeigen, indem sie es werten, festhalten
34 und fortschreitend ausbauen zum Segen für sich und für die ganze Menschheit "
35 (Stolte, p. 98).

which he then weaves the threads of his fancy. One might say that any author who writes in the biographic style, making himself the hero of his stories, can be put on the same level with Karl May. What is so extraordinary in the case of Karl May is that not only he, but also his reading public saw him as Hara ben Nemsî or Old Shatterhand. The real man, the thief, the prisoner, are completely lost. If in the latter days of his life his name is dragged through the mud and his old faults are resuscitated, today only the noble figure of the champion of good against evil seems to survive. He is an outsider in his own society, in his own time. He is a son of the lower classes, a weaver's son whose only aspiration for a position in life could be that of teacher. He translates this sense of strangeness in his own "Heimat" in his speech to Harah Durimeh into a yearning to go out, to roam "in der Ferne," to become physically the outsider in his own country, at the same time reintegrating himself into his society by bringing, preaching, acting its highest ideals to an alien audience.

By carrying his Heimat with him wherever he goes, by stressing his belonging to the Heimat through the yearning, Karl May maintains his position within the society from which he is seemingly escaping. Heimweh (homesickness) reintegrates the outsider into his country. Some sense of this is given in a poem by Konrad Kretz which Karl May himself admires and quotes:

Land of my fathers, no longer my own
No ground is as holy as yours.
Never will your image disappear from my soul.
And if I were tied to you by no living bond
The dead would bind me to you,
Who are covered by your earth, my fatherland.¹³

13. Land meiner Väter, länger nicht das meine,
So heilig ist kein Boden wie der deine.
Nie wird dein Bild aus meiner Seele schwinden.
Und knüpfte mich an dich kein lebend Band
Es würden mich die Toten an dich binden,
Die deine Erde deckt, mein Vaterland!

(Von Bagdad nach Stambul, p. 174).

Best Available Copy

1 Thus Karl May achieves a twofold purpose: he becomes a hero, but he
2 also achieves that solid middle class security and financial position which
3 the weaver's son could never hope to achieve had he lived a "real" life.

4 To understand and to gauge Karl May's extraordinary position among the
5 writers of juvenile fiction and among writers of the Unterschichtsliterature
6 for Karl May cannot be considered a writer of youth fiction alone -- one need
7 but glance at the enormous amount of material written about him and about
8 his role since 1918. One of the most recent and most comprehensive studies
9 to come out about him is Stolte's Karl May als Volksdichter (1936), which
10 summarizes preceding studies and clarifies his role in the literary history
11 of Germany. Stolte lists about 320 articles and books about Karl May between
12 1918 and 1933, of which a great many appeared in the Karl May Yearbook. He
13 divides the material into several sections: The Karl May quarrel; Karl May
14 the man; Discussion of Karl May Themes; The aesthetic and literary importance
15 of Karl May; Karl May and morals; Karl May's importance as educator; Karl
16 May's influence; Karl May's folklore value; and a section dealing with
17 miscellaneous material about him. Thus Karl May achieves a stature and a
18 significance far beyond the actual importance of his stories. The wish
19 expressed in his speech to Marah Durimeh seems to have come true: He trans-
20 lated reality into a dream, but the dream in turn seems to have become a
21 reality.

22 In his Karl May, Ein Leben - Ein Traum, Forst-Battaglia writes in 1931
23 that the reasons for, or rather the sources of, the deed which was punished
24 by six weeks of prison (he refers to Karl May's first infraction of the law)
25 are quite clear: an impulsive megalomania (Grossmannesucht) and at the same

Best Available Copy

Best

1 time a real natural goodness (Güte) which is in conflict with merciless
2 law. And Stolte writes:

3 These roots, which are dormant in the German as in any other people,
4 produce the enthusiasm (Schwärmerei) for the noble robber /and/ the
5 hatred for the learned pettifoggers. With most people they remain
6 literature, with Karl May they become his life... (p. 37).

7 Only by recalling the elements of his early life can one understand how Karl
8 May weaves the thread of his fancies. Just as the boy found himself between
9 father and grandmother -- between action, violent action, and world of the
10 fairytale -- so the man stands between the regions of lower classes (the
11 Unterschichtliche) and those upper classes to which his education might
12 entitle him to belong. But he escapes even beyond that world, that specific
13 well-defined world of the teacher. As the boy constantly escaped from the
14 father to the grandmother, the man also escapes from the life of reality
15 into the life of fancy. But by forcing the dream to become reality he fuses
16 into one all the conflicting elements in his life.

17 To gain a deeper understanding of the position occupied by Karl May
18 in the thinking of German literary critics and literary historians one must
19 consider seriously what they have said about him. Again the summaries and
20 conclusions in Stolte's book serve as the best example of the enormous
21 proportions which the Karl May question has assumed. Karl May is regarded
22 as a Volksdichter (a people's poet): he is the one who -- like the troubadours
23 of the Middle Ages or the Minnesänger -- catches the gesunkenes Kulturgut

Best Available Copy

(broken cultural heritage) and translates it into a form which

people can understand; but at the same time he translates the obscure

and constant yearnings of the people into a form which the upper classes can

15

accept.

Karl May himself saw his position as that of the story-teller, the

fairytale teller:

The highest, fullest and, as far as I am concerned, favorite form of art, of poetry, is the fairytale. I love the fairytale so much that I have given up my whole life to it, my entire work. I am Harawati. This Arabic word means story teller.¹⁶

In this statement, which he made very shortly before his death, Karl May

gives perhaps closest to understanding his own real-unreal position.

But according to the critics, Karl May's stories are not fairytales,

they are legends (Sagen) -- stories tied in time and space, stories which

can be taken as truth, which are taken as truth, stories which turn around

the eternal motif of the noble element in man, the Edelmannsch. According

to the critics, this is the way that his stories must be understood, in

particular perhaps Winnetou:

Old Shatterhead and Winnetou separate themselves from the framework of the story, from the person of their creator, leave the territory of the literary creation and enter the primitive consciousness as

14. The concept of gesunkenes Kulturgut is an important one in German literary criticism and refers to the tendency for art forms to be preserved in modified form as they are popularized by those in the lower strata in a society, long after new styles of high art have been developed by creative artists.

15. As Elisabeth Hellersberg noted in an unpublished paper on "The Strange (RCC-Ge35), far away places are both threatening and alluring and nostalgia for far away places is important in German fantasy. In his tales Karl May expresses and made come true the yearnings of a group who could rarely realize their dreams -- which were also his own. In the alluring accounts of his travels they identify with his hardships and triumphs. He has done what they would like to do and for that he has only dreamed these adventures is lost from sight and becomes immaterial.

16. "Die höchste, inhaltsreichste und mir liebste Form der Kunst, der Poesie, ist das Märchen. Ich liebe das Märchen so, dass ich ihm mein ganzes Leben, meine ganze Arbeit gewidmet habe. Ich bin Harawati. Dieses arabische Wort bedeutet 'Märchenerzähler'" (Stolte, p. 76).

living figures. The literary legend becomes popular legend, even the personality of Karl May himself continues to live like a legendary figure in popular stories.¹⁷

Having seen Karl May's role in this light, the next step for the serious writer is a very logical one. Karl May's Winnetou is compared by Stolte with the motifs of the Siegfried legend, element by element:

1. Siegfried leaves his father's castle and goes to far distant lands.

A young man leaves Europe to make his fortune in America.

2. Siegfried comes to a blacksmith and receives his sword with which he later accomplishes his heroic deeds.

The young immigrant meets the gun maker Henry who gives him a unique gun.

3. Siegfried is sent by the smith out into the forest.

Recommended by old Henry, the young man gets a job with the railroad and goes West as a surveyor.

4. Siegfried proves himself a hero when he accomplishes the most difficult of all deeds, the heroic deed par excellence: he kills the dragon.

The young immigrant proves himself a real Westerner: he kills the buffalo, kills the grizzly bear with a knife and catches the mustang.

5. Siegfried gets his name "der Gehörnte" after bathing in the dragon's blood.

The young Westerner, after knocking out his enemy with a single blow of his fist, is henceforth known as Old Shatterhand.

Thus to substantiate Karl May's position, the critic goes back to the heroic past of Germany and establishes a thread of continuity with that great past. But Stolte -- who is but summarizing and clarifying what others

17. "Old Shatterhand und Winnetou lösen sich aus dem Rahmen der Erzählungen von der Person ihres Schöpfers, verlassen das Gebiet des Schriftstellerischen und gehen als lebende Gestalten in das primitive Bewusstsein über. Die Literatursage wird Volkssage. Sogar die Gestalt Karl May's lebt vielfach als sagenhafte Persönlichkeit weiter" (Stolte, p. 82).

... goes even further in saying that it
is not only the Slogfried legend which is at the root of the heroic legend,
but also the much older Heiland (Savior) motif.

According to Benz (Rhythmus deutscher Kultur, 1943), it is the
German legend of the Heiland that the true German spirit emerges.

The Urgermans, in this legend and through this legend, becomes the
geistig Deutsche (spiritual German), because he understands the loving
and suffering Christ as hero and glorifies him as a spiritual
hero-figure in the epic.¹⁸

The fusion of old Germanic and Christian elements into a heroic legend
this is really what is Deutsch. This conception of the true German also
underlies Stollte's judgment of Karl May:

/ In Karl May's writings / the fusion of mystical and heroic elements
forms the oldest, still unsolved task of our culture, the Heiland
question, the fusion of the Germanic with the Christian elements into
the particular form of the heroic legend. In this Karl May, even if
the strange and the far way is alive in him, remains the eternal German.¹⁹

If the Heiland question is truly the symbol of what is "Deutsch," then
Karl May, -- symbolizing through his writings this eternal question and
translating the yearnings of the humble folk -- crystallizes the figure of
the eternal German. His stories about travels in the Orient and in America
in the late nineteenth century transcend time and space, the events of his
fascination suddenly achieve an almost architectural strength, and the stuff
his dreams are made of becomes the life of the German people.

18. "Der Urgermans wird hier zum geistig Deutschen, indem er den
liebenden, leidenden Christus heldisch versteht und als vergeistigtes Helden-
Vorbild im Helden Liede verherrlicht" (p. 14).

19. "Aus dem Zusammenkommen mystischer und heroischer Wesenheiten
gestaltet sich die älteste, der Lösung harrende Aufgabe unserer Kultur, die
'Heiland-Frage,' die Vereinigung des Germanischen mit dem Christlichen zu
jener ihm eigentümlichen Form der heroischen Legende. Hierin ist Karl May,
mag in ihm noch so sehr das Fremde und Ferne lebendig sein, ewig-deutsch" (p. 155).

The "Jartenleub" Novel

A Magic Mirror for Society

- Kelly Schargo Hoyt

That historians reveal as much about their own time and culture as about the period which they are describing is nowadays accepted almost as a truism. Similarly, the social image as it is reflected in the novel gives insight into the attitudes of authors and the audience for whom they write and, as Kohn Branstedt said in his study of the German social structure (1937, p. 5) a study of literature can become a vital supplement to research into social history. Although it is evident that the relationship between fiction and the behavior of people as this can be observed in a living society is extremely complex, the study of literature can give us insight into significant cultural themes as these are expressed in the handling of plot and the delineation of character and are mediated by the imagery of a writer or a group of writers of a given culture though they may be distant from us in time and space.

Approaching the novel from this point of view, the question immediately arises: What kind of literature, what type of fiction? Although the basic problems of analysis are the same, it is necessary to distinguish -- in terms of author and audience -- between the work of highly individualized character by great creative artists of a period and the "popular" novel or short story which floods the literary market for a brief space of time, which affords immense pleasure and interest to a large reading audience but which -- even

1. For discussions of cultural analysis of various types of fantasy material of. Bateson (1943 and 1945), Erikson (1950), Wolfenstein and Leites (1950) and discussions of the subject especially by Mead, Métraux and Wolfenstein in Mead and Métraux (1953, passim).

1 though it is translated and read by other audiences abroad -- rarely survives
2 the fashion of the day.

3 In Germany in the 19th as well as the 20th century, artists and critics
4 and historians of literature -- as well as ordinary readers -- have tended
5 to make sharp distinctions between the novel that is intended to transcend
6 time and space in its significance and the story that is intended to appeal
7 to readers of a particular time and place, that at one and the same time is
8 intended to provide writer and audience with a mirror image of their life,
9 and an outlet for their wishful thinking and dreams of action and escape.
10 In German criticism the distinctions made are not only in terms of literary
11 quality but also in terms of the supposed social characteristics of the
12 intended audience. Thus, discussing the use of literature by the social
13 historian, Kohn-Bramstedt (1937, p. 200) writes that "the investigation would
14 be very one-sided if / he / did not glance at the so-called 'lower type' of
15 literature" (Mittel- und Unterschichtsliteratur), that is, at the literature
16 of the middle and lower strata of society. The educated German reader today
17 is likely to disclaim interest in the Unterschichtsliteratur of the past --
18 finds that he is unmoved by the trials and tribulations of Marlitt's heroines

19 2. This is, of course, an arbitrary division since productions of high
20 art may reach -- directly or indirectly -- as large and diversified an
21 audience as so-called "popular" art and no less than "popular" art -- though
22 perhaps in a more complex way -- express themes that are significant in a
23 given culture.

24 3. Such a writer may, of course, alter his literary position. So, for
25 instance, Karl May -- who was at first regarded primarily as a popular writer
26 and a writer for youthful readers -- has gradually become, in the minds of
27 a whole school of German literary critics, the literary symbol of one kind
28 of timeless German thought.

29 4. Based on discussions of German literature with German informants.

in Siddhas or Das Heideprinzesschen, and does not consider his literary knowledge incomplete if he has not read Freytag's Soll und Haben or Gargoyles or Der hohe Schoin -- all popular novels of the mid-19th century. Nevertheless, all of these were (and some still are) widely read in Germany and, from the viewpoint of the German social historian as also of the student of German culture they are an important source for the study of a particular period and, in that they provide us with comparative material, for an understanding of contemporary Germany.

This study, which is intended to provide background and time depth for the analysis of contemporary German culture, concentrates on the popular fiction of the mid-19th century, the literature that is believed by Germans today to have had (and in some instances still to have) the widest "mass" appeal. The output was very large and the problem of sampling it for the purpose of detailed analysis a difficult one. However, certain of the writers were originally published in a special type of journal and are known for their association with these journals which in Germany, particularly since 1848, have been almost indispensable to family life. This is the middle-class family journal which has been read by all sections of the middle class and has been known to and often read -- though more sporadically -- by both upper-class and aristocratic Germans and members of the lowest strata in German society. Among these periodicals, the most important undoubtedly has

5. German informants who grew up in the first 30 years of the 20th century are likely to say, if they are educated people with a professional or well-to-do business background, that they did not read Die Gartenlaube, but that they saw it; they explain that it came to their home together with other magazines (presumably of more special interest) as a matter of course, and that everyone in the family at some time or other "looked at it" to know what was going on, or perhaps enjoyed some special feature, or read a story or two when they were tired or sick, but that it was not something which they could take very seriously.

been Die Gartenlaube, which was founded by Ernst Keil in 1853 and which appeared without interruption until 1936; in 1936 its title was changed to Die neue Gartenlaube and publication was continued until the outbreak of World War II. According to Kohn-Bramstedt (1937, p. 200), Die Gartenlaube is the prototype of the family journal -- of which it was one of the first -- whose success made the family journal a permanent institution. The importance, continuity and wide appeal of Die Gartenlaube provided a criterion for the selection of novels to be analyzed, and this study of the 19th century German Unterschichtsliteratur will therefore deal primarily with novels and stories which appeared in this journal.

In order to understand the enormous success of the novels, it is necessary first to examine the aims and the appeal of Die Gartenlaube itself. The intended aims of the magazine were set forth in an editorial address to the reader which appeared in the first number in 1853:

Greetings (Grüss Gott), dear people of the German land!... When during the long winter evenings you sit near the cosy stove in the circle of your dear ones, or in spring, when the white and pink blossoms fall from the apple trees and you sit in the shadowy arbor with some visitor -- then read our paper. It is to be a magazine for the house and the family, a book for big and small, for everyone who has a warm heart beating in his breast, who still receives pleasure from what is good and noble! Far from all reasoning politics and all opinion arguments in religion and other matters, we want to present you with really good tales, and lead you into the story of the human heart and of peoples, into the struggles of human passions and of past times ... we want to entertain you, and educate you through entertainment. The breath of poetry shall fly above it all as the perfume over the blooming flower, and you shall feel at home (einheimeln) in our arbor, in which you shall find true German cosiness (Gemütlichkeit) which speaks to the heart ... (Quoted in Horovitz, 1937, p. 48.)

This statement sets forth very clearly what the Gartenlaube aimed to do.

Its success was enormous and mounted rapidly: In 1853 the subscribers

numbered 5,000. Seven years later they had risen to 100,000. By 1867 the

1 number was 225,000 and by 1881, 378,000 subscribers received the magazine.
2 The number of readers whom it actually reached must have been much greater,
3 for it was lent back and forth and read aloud in reading circles and social
4 gatherings. In 1876 Karl Gutzkow called it "the classic of the present"
5 (Gartenlaube, 1876, p. 532) and in 1928 it seemed to have survived all the
6 changes of historical development and remained the symbol of the true German
7 spirit. Families whose parents subscribed to the Gartenlaube in 1854 still
8 carried a subscription in 1928, thus providing a real sense of continuity
9 and stability and a feeling for the eternal fatherland. So, for instance
10 a subscriber writes in 1928 ("What the Gartenlaube of my childhood was;
11 our readers speak," Gartenlaube 1928, p. 199):

12 ... if today, on a dark fall day, I leaf through the old volumes,
13 I am once again experiencing the dreamlike mood of security and that
14 love for the German Heimat which the Gartenlaube awakened and fostered
15 in the child, and the thoughts about Americanization, stereotyping and
16 rationalization of our life disappear ... In how many hearts does the
17 Gartenlaube lay the foundation, from youth on, for the love of the
18 Heimat, the love for the German fatherland. May it continue to do so
19 until the German spirit (Wesen) is once more recognized in the world.

20 The basic reason for the enduring popularity of the Gartenlaube is
21 that it translated into concrete form the overwhelming feeling of the 19th
22 century German middle class that the core, heart center of everything is the
23 family. It is a Familienblatt, "entering into the circle of the dear ones."
24 Its cover (always the same) shows the family in the garden. The early cover
25 combines with the picture of the family in the arbor the symbol of the arts
26 and sciences which it will bring to them; the later cover merely shows the
27 members of the family in the garden, all generations, from the youngest to
28 the oldest, and on each first page of the separate numbers appears a vignette,
29 showing the members of the family around the table. The family journal

1 unknown to them. As Zang (1935, p. 10) put it: "Who had ever told the
2 little people something about the 'mittelhochdeutsche' poetry, or the events
3 of medieval history? The miniature portraits of great German men, the
4 descriptions of the beauties of the German landscape and the diligence of
5 German towns ..." In such discussions the journal intended to introduce the
6 political-national element imperceptibly, to arouse a real feeling for the
7 German fatherland and weld together, especially after 1870, the newly founded
8 Reich.

9 The "German" element, however, is not the only one which fills its
10 pages. The literature and writers of foreign countries were included as
11 well; there were articles about statesmen and politicians of different
12 countries and persuasion, there were articles about philosophers and
13 historians. (Cf. Horowitz, 1937, p. 54.) The list of the collaborators
14 for this type of material is quite impressive: for instance, Treitschke,
15 Theodor Fontane, Heinrich Laube, Karl Gutzkow, Robert Gieseke, Alexander
16 Jung, and so on.

17 In order to give a clearer picture of the appearance of the Gartenlaube
18 and its varied contents one might glance at some typical year, perhaps one
19 of the earlier years, where it tried to appeal to all of the German lands
20 while as yet there was no Germany, perhaps the year 1865:

21 The general divisions for each weekly number are always the same: poems,
22 very often about the illustrations, of which there is at least one in each
23 number. The illustrations are about family and work, later about the wars
24 perhaps, always sentimental. Biographies and character sketches of great
25 men appear in most of the numbers. Each number contains a chapter of a long

1 serial story and at least one, perhaps two, short stories. Descriptive
2 essays about travels appear frequently. Illustrated articles about medical
3 discoveries and new developments in the field of the sciences are a regular
4 feature -- Darwinism occupies the stage at this moment. Special features
5 about exhibitions or festivals, travelogues and information about foreign
6 countries appear more prominently after 1870. A definite reporting column
7 about war news appears in 1864 (war with Denmark about Schleswig-Holstein)
8 and in 1866 (war against Austria). The Franco-Prussian War of 1870 occupies
9 a prominent place not only in 1870-71 but in many following years. A regular
10 feature of each individual number is the column "Blätter und Blüten"
11 ("Leaves and Blossoms") which contains brief stories, information about the
12 illustrations, letters from the readers, appeals about missing persons and
13 information for and about the Auslandsdeutsche, the Germans abroad.

14 All these general divisions are well represented in the year 1865, and
15 an examination of a few of its numbers will give an adequate picture of the
16 Gartenlaube as it appeared to 19th century readers. The first number, which
17 appeared in February, contains as illustration one entitled Barmherzig und
18 Herzig, which shows a nun, leading a wounded soldier, with a poem about it.
19 Such poems and pictures showing nuns or monks tend to disappear once the
20 Gartenlaube becomes involved in the Kulturkampf.

21 The historical sketch deals with an 18th century character (Trenck)
22 and his experiences in prison. The biographical character sketch introduces
23 Heinrich Heine at home with chatty touches about conversations with the poet.
24 Miscellaneous articles deal with certain peasant customs in Norway, satisfying
25 an interest in far distant places, or such articles as the history of the

1 Life insurance organization at Gotha. In the column "Blätter und Blüten,"
2 there is an article about German goods which are sold under foreign names
3 and there is an appeal to send books to a German library for German soldiers
4 fighting in the Union army of the American Civil War. A special little
5 letterbox contains information about money collected for the soldiers of
6 the Schleswig-Holstein War. The serial Der Richter occupies five double
7 column pages and continues of course through several numbers.

8 In the second number of the year A. E. Brehm, the famous German naturalist,
9 contributes an article about various animals, "Bilder aus dem Tiergarten,"
10 while those interested in the exotic can find satisfaction in an illustrated
11 article about a day in the harem. The home country also is represented with
12 an article "Aus deutscher Weinstadt," while a patriotic article recalls the
13 poor treatment received by German soldiers in Napoleon's grande armée.
14 "Das Blut das hier geflossen," concludes the article, "macht jedes deutsche
15 Herz noch heute bluten so oft es an diese Ereignisse denken muss." (And this
16 half a century after the events!)

17 The third number has a little more local color, with a "Volksbild,"
18 a description of Christmas as it is celebrated in the Tyrol. And one factual
19 report presents case histories from the court of assizes, while another
20 describes Germany's industry: the manufacturing of needles under the
21 high sounding title of "The one-eyed Archangel of Civilization" ("Der
22 einaugige Erzengel der Kultur"). The travelogue takes the reader to Iceland

23 6. "The blood that flowed here," the article concludes, "makes every
24 German heart bleed even today whenever one thinks of those events."

1 while the "Blätter und Blüten" describes the Schiller Institute in Weimar
2 and contains some anecdotal material. In the fourth number the biographical
3 sketch presents a German in America; a special article deals with the Junkers
4 ("against the so-called patriarchal Junker-rule"), while in "Blätter und Blüten"
5 there is a highly critical article about divorces in France and information
6 about recent excavations in Pompei

7 In the fifth number the serial Der Richter is concluded and another
8 one Erkauft und Erkauft begins. The poem is devoted to a very difficult
9 problem: "Das Lied vom Salz" discusses the salt tax in Prussia, and the
10 biographical article sentimentalizes about the "Herzenskämpfe" of Heinrich
11 von Kleist. There is a new serial again in the seventh number. A hunting
12 story especially for the male readers is included, while a brief little item
13 "For young women by young women" warns of the dangers of dreaming too much
14 before one's wedding. The following two numbers contain items of special
15 importance for the day, i.e. violently anti-slavery articles about the
16 American Civil War, in which Virginia is called "the Junker state par
17 excellence" and is compared to Mecklenburg. Numbers nine and ten deal with
18 medical problems concerning children. In the tenth number an illustrated
19 poem shows an old nurse presenting "her" boy's first baby shoe to the young
20 bride, while a social document tells the memoirs of a prison warden.

21 The above description of the contents of some numbers in one year gives
22 a clearer picture of the variety of material and how this material was geared
23 to the various members of the family, of both sexes and of different ages.
24 At the end of the year the weekly numbers were collected in one weighty tome,
25 bound together with the famous covering illustration and a table of contents
26 which spreads over two triple column pages.

Nevertheless, despite this variety and wealth of material, the novel was the greatest drawing card of this family journal. The type of novel which appeared in the Gartenlaube originated in the "Young German" movement -- in the work of writers who -- reacting violently against romanticism and using the novel as a vehicle for their ideas -- paved the way, between 1830-1850, for the Gartenlaube itself. Karl Gutzkow, the author of the famous and weighty Die Ritter vom Geiste (The Knights of the Spirit) and Theodor Mundt, the author of Lebenswirren (Life Entanglements), are, in a sense, the spiritual fathers of the Gartenlaube novel, and Mundt's description of the novel in Lebenswirren can be taken as the leitmotif of the "Gartenlauberoman." There he maintains that the novel

insinuates itself into the rooms and the families, sits at the table, listens to the evening conversation, and in good time one can put something under the nightcap of the Herr Papa or whisper something into the ear of the Herr Sohn (the son) while he smokes his pipe ...

The novel is to be didactic -- is to teach, to present the reader with a picture that will make him yearn for a "happier, stronger, more high-spirited life." In fact it should make him "quite unruly with impatience and yearning." Such a novel, claims Mundt, is a "Deutsches Haustier," a German domestic animal, the presence of which one loves and feels necessary. (Cf. Horowitz, 1937, p. 49.) If one recalls the aim laid down for the Gartenlaube by its editors in the first year that it appeared, one might feel that the role of the novel is quite parallel with that of the Gartenlaube itself.

In the early days, the editors envisaged the novel as short -- the novels of the 1860s run for two or three numbers. This is in keeping with the prospectus of the magazine which asks for

novels as short as possible, with no more than two or three continuations. The subjects of the stories are to be taken from the history of the fatherland (Lokalnovellen) or from the conditions of the life of the people (Volksnovellen)... (Cf. Horowitz, 1937, pp. 50-51.)

Very soon, however, the novel began to exceed two or three issues and, contrary to the expectations of editors and publishers, the popularity of the magazine seemed to grow with the length of the novel. One reason for this is that towards the end of the year 1865 the Gartenlaube had found an author whose popularity was such that her name became almost synonymous with that of the magazine, and who translated the aims and aspirations of the Familienblatt into concrete realities. This was Eugenie John, who was better known, and is still known by her pen-name, E. Marlitt. After the appearance of Marlitt's first novel, Die zwölf Apostel, (which was still brief), the paper experienced "an astonishing increase in circulation" (Kohn-Bramstedt, 1937, p. 209). According to Zang, the enormous success of Marlitt's novels and the huge circulation of the Gartenlaube are interrelated. Marlitt and the Gartenlaube have become concepts that can be called "volkstümlich." (cf. Zang, 1935, p. 108). No less a writer than Gottfried Keller said about her that she possessed something of the "divine spark." "She has a fluent style, an elevation of feeling, and a forceful representation of that which she feels; none of us can equal her." (Horovitz, 1937, p. 4). Marlitt died in 1887, but two other women writers, W. Heimburg and E. Werner (the latter died in 1918 and thus really closes the 19th century) carried on in the same vein and along exactly the same lines.

All three, speaking for their middle-class family readers, depict the "healthy morality" of that class and the "decaying morality" of the aristocracy, draw a fantasy picture of the regeneration of that aristocracy by marriage with members of the middle class, reward virtue, punish crime and always end with a complete family unit restored to a life of "happy ever after." No

Best Available Copy

1 ugliness is allowed to creep into their novels and no violent passions:
2 "It is a well tempered passion without fulfillment" (Zeng, 1955, p. 39).
3 The main plots of these novels always deal with some family circle element,
4 and if the circle is broken or incomplete, with the attempts to close the
5 circle again.

6 Such is the core around which all actions crystallize. Ruth Horowitz
7 in her discussion of the "Gartenlaube" novel has isolated five major patterns
8 developing around the central core (1937, p. 71):

9 I. Class pride wants to prevent a marriage between members of different
10 classes, particularly noble with non-noble. Either the hero -- a nobleman --
11 is himself a liberal, or else his family is converted to liberalism or it is
12 discovered -- in all sorts of roundabout ways -- that the girl -- a commoner --
13 is really of noble or half noble origin (Goldelse by Marlitt would be a good
14 example of this).

15 II. Class pride and exaggerated egoism oppress the humble girl (it
16 usually is a girl) who is full of lofty, dignified feelings, within the
17 family or foster family (the latter is more usual). In the course of the
18 story the oppressed heroines obtain their rights. Very often, though
19 oppressed, they are actually of loftier origins than those who oppress them
20 and their opinions show dignified liberalism and humanitarianism, whereas
21 their oppressors are hypocritical pietists. (Marlitt's Das Geheimnis der
22 alten Mansell is a classic example of this type of story.)

23 III. A sudden social rise leads a) to hard heartedness b) to fraud
24 and sin, and thus undermines the life of the family. Quite often the father
25 or some important member of the family has become a speculator and a swindler,

1 and dies or kills himself (or emigrates to America). After the collapse
2 both the family and the enterprise have to be built up again modestly,
3 honestly and successfully. This type of novel is particularly popular in
4 the period after 1870, the "Gründerjahre" when the wealth brought in by the
5 payment of French reparations resulted in wild speculations. (Two examples
6 are: Marlitt's Im Hause des Kommerzienrats and E. Werner's Glück Auf.)

7 IV. Through a woman -- who wants to be emancipated or else who is self-
8 willed in some other way -- an engagement or a marriage is broken and a
9 whole family is disunited. In the end there is some éclat, the woman either
10 has a change of heart or is made harmless and the family circle unites again.
11 (Im Schilling's Hof, Das Heideprinzesschen, Die zweite Frau by Marlitt are
12 striking examples of this type of plot.)

13 V. A continuity of action related to the past: Political events have
14 torn the family apart and undermined its happiness. A very common factor
15 here is the flight of one part of the family to America because of persecutions
16 resulting from the events of 1848. The younger generation, who have grown
17 up in America return to Germany, and after many roundabout attempts find their
18 way back to the family (or create a new family) and find a Heimat, peace
19 and happiness in Germany. (E. Werner's Ein Held der Fede is the most
20 striking example of this plot.)

21 To gain a clearer understanding of the plots and a closer knowledge of
22 German 19th century fantasy it might be of interest to examine more closely
23 two or three of these standard plots as they are worked out by Marlitt.
24 The most common plots are (1) those which center on a marriage between noble

and non-noble, (2) those in which the heroine finds herself oppressed and
 (3) those in which a self-willed woman is responsible for harm and hardship.
Goldelse, Das Geheimnis der alten Mansell and Die zweite Frau, among the
 most popular of Marlitt's novels, are also the most classic representatives
 of these three types of story.

Of all the novels Marlitt ever wrote Goldelse was without doubt the
 most popular and most famous. Published in the Gartenlaube in 1866, it
 assured the fame of the author immediately. A good deal has been written
 about the story and its characters. It appeared in book form in 1890, it
 was translated into English, and in the 1951 Romanführer is discussed as one
 of the books which are still popular today. If one has read Goldelse one
 has not only read the standard plot, but one has met the fictional German
 family par excellence -- one knows what a Hero and Heroine look like, how
 they think, speak and act, and what to expect of a villain in this world of
 the novel:

The Ferber family is poor because the father, an officer, had
 refused in 1848 to fire upon the revolutionaries, his brothers. He is a
 liberal and as such finds it increasingly hard to find work. His wife, born
 von Gnadewitz, of old Thuringian nobility, married him for love and thus cut
 herself off from her family (which had been degenerating for the past
 generations). She helps supplement the father's income by needlework,
 while their lovely daughter Elisabeth gives piano lessons. In the evenings
 they all sit together around the table, father, mother, daughter and the
 little brother Ernst; often Elisabeth plays for them, improvising beautiful
 melodies on her rickety old piano.

Into this poor but happy home comes a letter which brings great joy.
 Ferber's brother, who is a forester (Förster) in Thuringia, needs an aide and
 the Prince is willing to consider his recommendation. As it happens the
Forsthaus, located in the "green woods" lies close by the old family castle
 of the Gnadewitz. This castle, in ruins, had been left by an old cousin

to Iron Harbor. This inheritance was meant as a bitter joke, but the structure which that wing of it seems to be still in good repair. All too eager to get away from the big city and Wintsunside sees them arriving in the green forests.

An exploration of Schloss Gnadeck, the old castle, reveals the inhabitable wing as described in great detail by Marlitt, and within a week the family is installed in its new abode. Elisabeth, whom her uncle calls "Goldelse" because of her lovely golden hair, has her own room looking towards the valley and a new piano and every evening she plays for the assembled family, her uncle included.

Her piano playing is heard by their neighbors who have the lovely little castle in the valley, the Lindhof. Fraulein von Walde, a cripple, lives there with her relative and companion Baronin Lessen, while her brother travels away from his country. Fraulein von Walde asks Goldelse to come and play for her once or twice a week. The uncle is against it, because he hates the hypocritical baroness, but the father urges her to accept the invitation:

"It is true that until now I alone have held my child's soul in my hands. As it was my duty I have been anxious to awaken each germ, to support each little shoot that wanted to bend outward. But I have never wanted to raise a weak hothouse plant, and woe to me and to her if that which I have tended tirelessly for eighteen years, was hanging rootless in the soil, to be blown away by the first breath of real life. I have brought up my daughter to face life, for she will have to begin her struggle with it as any other human being. And if I should close my eyes today, she will have to take the helm which I have held for her until now. If the people in the castle are really not good acquaintances for her, that will soon become apparent. Either both parties feel it immediately and separate, or Elisabeth passes by that which is against her principles, and therefore nothing sticks to her."⁸

Elisabeth therefore does accept the invitation and for the first time leaves the shelter of her family circle. In Lindhof she meets hypocrisy and ugliness. The baroness' son, Baron Hollfeld, pursues her, though she does not understand him. Helene von Walde loves him and fails to see his hypocrisy.

8. "Ich habe allerdings bis jetzt die Seele meines Kindes allein in den Händen gehabt und bin, wie es meine Pflicht war, eifrig besorgt gewesen, jeden Keim zu wecken, jedes Pflänzchen das ausbüßen wollte, zu stützen. Nichtsdestoweniger ist es mir nie eingefallen, eine kraftlose Treibhauspflanze erziehen zu wollen, und wehe mir und ihr, wenn das was ich seit achtzehn Jahren unermüdlich gehegt und gepflegt habe, wurzellos im Boden hinge, um vom ersten Windhauche des Lebens hinweggerissen zu werden. Ich habe meine Tochter für das Leben erzogen; denn sie wird den Kampf mit demselben so gut beginnen müssen wie jedes andere Menschenkind auch. Und wenn ich heute meine Augen schliesse, so muss sie das Steuer ergreifen können, das ich bisher für sie geführt habe. Sind die Leute im Schlosse in der That kein Umgang für sie nun dann wird sich das bald herausstellen. Entweder es fühlen beide Teile sofort, dass sie nicht zu einander passen, und das Verhältnis löst sich von selbst wieder, oder aber Elisabeth geht an ihm vorüber, was ihren Grundsätzen widerspricht, und es bleibt deshalb nichts an ihr haften."

misappalling misadministration of the property causes the return of the owner von Walde, who sends away many of the bad servants, but because of Helene allows the baroness to remain. Goldelse, who considers her mother her friend, and who has no other friend and also no secrets from her, tells her everything including Holfeld's behavior. But the day she first feels herself falling in love with von Walde she returns home to find her mother in bed with a migraine and keeps her secret.

"If the mother had been sitting in her armchair in the window-niche, between the protecting curtain and the greenwall of trees outside, the dear corner would have become today a confessional. Elisabeth, kneeling on the footstool, with her head on her mother's knee, would have opened her overflowing heart before the motherly eye. Now she pulled the strict secret back into the deepest recesses of her soul; who knows if she would ever find the courage again to speak of that which, because of the existing circumstances would frighten the mother and fill her with anxiety about her daughter."⁹

She is able to protect von Walde from an attack by one of the dismissed servants and shows that she can be as decisive as a man, though she is truly a woman, and, when she plays with her little brother, still a child.

In the meantime one of the great mysteries of the Gnadewitz family has been solved. While doing some repair work on the wing, the workmen have discovered a secret room with a casket and an old diary dating back to the Thirty Years' War. From this diary they learn that Post von Gnadewitz had loved and married a gypsy. She had died in childbirth and he had put her in that casket in the sealed room. Unable to bear the sight of the child he had put it on the door-step of his forester, Ferber, without name, hoping the forester would bring it up with his own children. The will and documents concerning the child were to be kept in the town hall. He himself went back to the war.

Though the townhall had burnt, this document proves that actually the Ferber family had noble blood. The exposed child had subsequently married his foster-sister and moved to Silesia from where their descendants had now returned to Thuringia.

This development and the solution of the old mystery create a great deal of excitement, but the Ferbers, proud of their middle-class name refuse to take up the old noble name "which has a wheel in its shield" (one ancestor having been broken on the wheel as a robber baron).

9. "Hätte die Mutter jetzt auf ihrem Lehnstuhle in der einen Fensternische in der Wohnstube gesessen zwischen dem schützenden Vorhänge und der grünen Buschwand vor dem Fenster ... dann wäre heute die traute Ecke zum Beichtstuhle geworden; Elisabeth hätte, knieend auf dem Fusskissen, den Kopf auf die Knie der Mutter gelegt, ihr übervolles Herz dem mütterlichen Auge erschlossen. Nun zog sich das süsse Geheimnis wieder in den innersten Schrein ihrer Seele zurück; wer weiss, ob sie je wieder den Mut fand das auszusprechen, was unter den obwaltenden Verhältnissen die Mutter voraussichtlich erschrecken und mit grosser Sorge in die Tochter erfüllen musste."

1 Elisabeth finds out that this discovery changes Hollfeld's attitude
2 towards her -- he now is willing to marry her -- but von Walde does not care
3 whether she will use the new name or not, she discovers that he loves her
4 and in the end Hollfeld and the Baroness, completely exposed, leave the
5 Lindhof, Elisabeth marries von Walde, Gnadeck is restored and we have Elisabeth
6 a year later standing in the living room of Gnadeck looking out on her own
7 domain, with her baby son in her arms.

8 The ideal picture as it emerges here, is very clear: solid middle-class
9 virtues, liberal ideas, the pride in one's middle-class position as against
10 the degenerate hypocrisy of the aristocrat. The only aristocrat who emerges
11 with a good character is von Walde, himself an admirer of the middle-class
12 virtues.

13 The family circle is a tight-knit group against the outside, a completely
14 self-sufficient unit. The father is both the gardener tending the young
15 plant and the helmsman steering the ship safely through that dangerous ocean
16 of "life." Mother is the friend who makes friends of one's own age unnecessary
17 and that confidante from whom one has no secrets -- no bad secrets anyway.
18 For the good secret, the setting is a necessity and since the setting fails
19 the good secret is kept until the situation is solved by itself.

20 Elisabeth emerges as the perfect daughter, the perfect sister, never
21 too grown up to play soldiers with the little brother, and the perfect niece,
22 for the uncle belongs within the family circle, and this family circle is
23 never broken. Von Walde enters into it, Hollfeld and his mother are sent
24 away and Helene, who loved Hollfeld, dies. The catharsis of the story occurs
25 when the mystery of the Gnadevitz is solved and in a sense the whole book
26 of Goldelse leads to the solution of this mystery, which happened generations
27 ago, but in a period where so many threads of German history seem to start,
28 namely the Thirty Years' War.

1 The same thread of mystery going back to the Thirty Years' War runs
2 through another of Marlitt's novels, Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell.

3 The old Mamsell, an unmarried aunt, or rather great-aunt, lives
4 high up in the attic in a charming little apartment which she has filled
5 with birds and flowers. Doing good to all and playing the piano to while
6 away her hours, she is the one who is really bringing up the heroine Felicitas,
7 forming her character and instructing her. No one in the house knows of
8 this relationship, no one must know of it for Felicitas is the intruder,
9 the unwanted foster child. She had been brought into the family by Fritz
10 Hellwig, when her mother was killed during the performance of her act while
11 playing in the town. Hellwig promises to care for the actress' child
12 (das Spielerskind) until the father comes to claim her -- but he never comes,
13 and a few years later Hellwig dies leaving Felicitas in the care of his wife,
14 a cold hypocrite, and his oldest son who is studying medicine in Bonn and
15 who believes his mother to be the best possible woman. Only Heinrich,
16 the servant, and the old Mamsell give Felicitas the love that she yearns for.
17 She works as a servant in the house, but her mind and soul are cared for by
18 the recluse and she grows up with all the womanly virtues.

19 Johannes (the son), now a doctor, returns home for a vacation and falls
20 in love with Felicitas who professes to hate him. Upon the death of the old
21 Mamsell it is discovered that the wealth of the Hellwig family was based on
22 ill-gotten gains, on a find of gold made by the old Mamsell when she was
23 young. This was actually the property of the von Hirschsprung family, and had
24 been buried there during the Thirty Years' War. Meta von Hirschsprung had
25 been Felicitas' mother's maiden name; the family had disowned her when she
26 married a juggler. The money is restored to the family; Felicitas marries
27 Johannes and in the end one guesses that Frau Hellwig herself will become
28 a member of the new family, for Felicitas and Johannes have had a son and she
29 wants to know the joys of being a grandmother.

30 Die Zweite Frau, another very popular story by Marlitt is one of the
31 very rare ones which deals exclusively with the aristocracy:

32 The second wife, married by Mainau purely for reasons of convenience
33 and private revenge against the duchess, will recreate for him a real family
34 life, triumph over all obstacles, solve the secret surrounding the death of
35 one of his uncles and make him fall in love with her. Mainau loved the ruling
36 duchess when she was young and poor. She loved him too, but accepted the duke.
37 Now, a year after the duke's death, everyone expects that Mainau will ask
38 her to marry him, instead of which he announces his engagement to Countess
39 Julliane. She comes to his castle as his second wife, and step-mother to his
40 little boy. The boy, initially hostile, accepts her as soon as he sees her,
41 calling her "mama" right away. She assumes the responsibility for his upbringing
42 and slowly unravels all the mysterious threads of the Mainau story. In spite
43 of the machinations of the strong-willed duchess and her court priest (the
44 Kulturkampf element) all ends well.

1 Here again the plot of the story appears as the denouement of something
2 which happened long before. This particular aspect is perhaps one of the
3 most significant traits which can be said to emerge from the "Gartenlaube"
4 novel. The story itself is but the final stage in a long range history, one
5 that reaches back in time to some great historical event -- sometimes the
6 French Revolution, but more often the Thirty Years' War. Reading these
7 novels one gets the distinct impression that the present moment is of no
8 importance unless its roots are in the past and only the historical event
9 which presents a common experience for all the Germans can play a real role.
10 Therefore, the use of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars. Therefore,
11 even more, the use of the Thirty Years' War with its devastation. But
12 usually something good emerges from the secret kept all these years -- the
13 initial evil is responsible for the final good; in order to arrive at something
14 positive, a very negative basis seems to be necessary. Only destruction can
15 lead to resurrection. That is the motto of the German Kultur, and Goethe's
16 "Man must be ruined again" (Der Mensch muss wieder ruiniert werden) -- on which
17 Sontag (1948, p. 43 ff.) builds his conception of the rhythm of German culture,
18 was translated into the popular language in the mysteries of the "Gartenlaube"
19 novel in the mid 19th century.

20 This same device of bringing past events into the present reveals another
21 preoccupation, i.e. the German's constant and persistent interest in the history
22 of his country and its regions. The Frenchman lives with his history, it is
23 part of him; he does not need to contemplate it all the time. For the German,
24 preoccupied with problems of political disunity and regional differences, the
25 question of "what is German" never dies out.

1 Perhaps that is why the historical novel is relatively rare in France,
2 whereas in Germany not only does it flourish in long, weighty tomes (one need
3 name only Gustav Freytag's Die Ahnen and Felix Dahn's Ein Kampf um Rom), even
4 non-historical novels are likely to have some historical core in them. One
5 need but read Marlitt's descriptions of Schloss Gnadeck, or of Mainau's
6 castle, or the vivid images she constructs of the old merchant house of the
7 Hellwigs, with the old Hirschsprung shield still over the door (thus proving
8 its great tradition), or the picture of the solid merchant homes in Die Frau
9 mit den Karfunkelsteinen and Das Heideprinzesschen to understand the architect-
10 onic reality of history to the German mind. But it is not the reality that
11 lives within, it is the reality contemplated from without, an archaeological
12 crosscut of the terrain, as it were. Perhaps it is no accident that it was
13 a German who first dug for Troy.

14 If one turns from the plots and the descriptive facts of Marlitt's
15 novels to the heroes and heroines and the villains of her stories one is
16 immediately struck first by the description of the families, and then by the
17 descriptions of individuals. The family, as it emerges from the Gartenlaube
18 stories, is a large one, though not because there are many children, for as a
19 matter of fact, there are very rarely more than two children in the Marlitt
20 family, or in families discussed by E. Werner and W. Heimburg. Rather, the
21 family is large because so many peripheral members live together. The
22 grandparents are an integral part of the family circle (Familienkreis) --
23 more often the maternal than the paternal grandparents -- and in some cases
24 they stay with the son-in-law even after the wife has died (cf. Die Zweite Frau,

1 Die Frau mit den Karfunkelsteinen). In addition, the family seems to be
2 incomplete without at least one, but more often a larger number of unmarried
3 aunts. A solid middle-class family without a bevy of Tanten seems almost
4 inconceivable and we find that this is true not only in the novels of the
5 three authoresses, but of the large majority of "Gartenlaube" novels. They
6 help in rearing the children; they help in the household; and, should the
7 mother die, they take over and keep the family circle going, and give it
8 stability and a sense of continuity if a new wife is brought into the family.
9 They are usually the father's sisters, and since in all the "Gartenlaube"
10 marriages the husband is considerably older than the wife, they too are almost
11 a generation removed from her. Perhaps it is this age difference which
12 makes the father appear to be the Erzieher (educator -- one who brings up),
13 whereas the mother is the friend, and always -- if she is dead and living
14 only in the memory of the child -- the child longs for her as for a friend.
15 If, as in Die Zweite Frau, the father does not perform his proper function,
16 the mother has to perform both tasks until she can show the father that he is
17 neglecting his duty.

18 The personality types which emerge from the "Gartenlaube" novels are, as
19 one might well expect, surprisingly like one another in their appearance.
20 One could easily create a composite picture of the Marlitt-Werner-Heimburg
21 hero and heroine and the villain, and fit them into any of their stories,
22 as well as into any other of the "Gartenlaube" novels. It is interesting
23 to note here that while the heroine is always what she appears to be and never
24 has anything to conceal, both the hero and the villain (who, in the villain's
25 case may be either a man or a woman) never appear to be what they are, -- the

1 villain hides something bad, the hero something good. It is almost as if the
2 hero had to appear to be bad in order in the end to prove his goodness. The
3 change is instantaneous, for it needs but a catalytic situation to reveal
4 the hero in his true light. In Goldelse, after having been harsh and bitter,
5 the hero, von Walde, suddenly becomes sweet and tender when the heroine is
6 in danger. In Die Zweite Frau the hitherto cynical Mainau shows himself to be
7 a tender-hearted loving husband when the heroine, his second wife, is about
8 to leave him. The social climber of Die Frau mit den Karfunkelsteinen stands
9 suddenly revealed as a humanitarian. The weakling rich boy of Glück Auf
10 suddenly appears as the only strong man capable of saving his father's mines
11 from ruin. The rigid, uncompromising Johannes of Das Geheimnis der alten
12 Mamsell suddenly is a human, malleable man. The change comes as a surprise
13 to all those around him, but never to the reader, for in spite of the hero's
14 bad and cold behavior there are always traits that reveal his true nature to
15 the attentive reader. (Very often the hero's true nature is disclosed in a
16 sudden, ephemeral gleam of his "deep, mysterious eyes.")

17 As Goldelse provides one of the standard plots, so the girl, Goldelse,
18 equally provides the standard types of the heroine: Goldelse herself, with
19 her rounded oval face, her white, narrow forehead (the narrow forehead is
20 as indispensable for feminine beauty as the broad forehead is the prerequisite
21 for masculine handsomeness), with her "eyes which laugh in the sunshine of
22 youth" could very easily be Margarete of Die Frau mit den Karfunkelsteinen
23 or the heroine of Im Hause des Kommerzienrates or of Heideprinzesschen. If
24 one substitutes sweet melancholy for laughing youth in the eyes, we also have
25 the portraits of Juliane, the second wife, and Felicitas, the juggler's daughter

1 Von Woldemar is the typical hero. Elisabeth's father here gives the
2 essential clue to the reader when he warns the audience that all is not
3 what it seems to be:

4 "The man is interesting to me because one is led to think whether he
5 really is what he appears to be, a wholly cold, passionless nature --
6 he has an impenetrable gaze; not the slightest movement of his features
7 reveals the direction of his thoughts.

8 ... I can easily understand that he is considered unbelievably
9 haughty but I cannot believe that such a foolish delusion should be
10 hidden behind these strangely intellectual features. His face always
11 has the expression of cold tranquillity of which I spoke, but between
12 the eyebrows there is an unguarded line. The hasty observer would
13 probably call him gloomy, I find him melancholy and sad."¹⁰

14 A whole gallery of heroes is represented in this portrait.

15 The female-villain is usually the hypocritical pietist, the Fräulein.

16 The Baroness in Goldelse and Frau Helwig of "Mamsell's secret" are archtypes:

17 with their pale round faces, broad chins and cold, cold eyes. They are
18 good-looking, perhaps even beautiful, but they have no warmth, no charm,
19 no "melting sweetness which a rich inner life breathes over one's traits"

20 (Schmelz, den ein reiches Sinnenleben über die Züge leuchtet).¹¹ Their narrow

21 compressed lips give away their real nature -- cold and evil.

22 10. "Mir ist der Mann dadurch interessant geworden, dass man angeregt
23 wird, darüber nachzudenken, ob er wirklich das ist was er scheint, nämlich
24 eine völlig kalte leidenschaftslose Natur ... ein undurchdringlicher Blick;
25 nicht die leiseste Bewegung in den Zügen verrät die Richtung seiner Gedanken.

26 ... Ich begreife vollkommen dass man ihn für unbegrenzt hochmütig hält,
27 und doch kann ich mir andererseits wieder nicht einreden, dass hinter den
28 merkwürdig geistvollen Gesichtszügen ein so törichter Wahn Grund und Boden
29 habe. Sein Gesicht hat stets den Ausdruck kalter Ruhe, dessen ich gedachte;
30 nur zwischen den Augenbrauen liegt ein, ich möchte sagen, unbewachter Zug;
31 ein flüchtiger Beobachter würde ihn höchstwahrscheinlich finster nennen, ich
32 aber finde ihn melancholisch schwermütig."

33 11. Das Geheimnis der Alten Mamsell.

1 As for the male villain he more often is a silly dandy who is very
2 attractive but whose eyes have no depths and never show the sudden flash
3 which reveals the mentally rich person before he has spoken a single word.

4 Such are the heroes and villains who live in the pages of the Gartenlaube
5 and people the fantasy of their authors. Such are the situations which reveal
6 the wishful thinking of the 19th century middle-class writers, the physical
7 stereotypes which they recognize, their extraordinary nostalgia for the past,
8 their unshaking belief in the permanence and solidity of the family and their
9 melancholy belief that only suffering and evil lead to good. Their heroes
10 and heroines embody all that is German custom (Deutsche Sitte) and German
11 tradition (Deutsche Fucht) while their villains -- hypocrites that they are --
12 might easily go over to an enemy. Hidden depths, hidden strength and great
13 humanitarianism, these are the qualities of the German man; softness, tenderness,
14 greatness of soul, these are the qualities of the German woman.

15 The family is shown to be a closed circle, tightly knit and loving,
16 united against the outside world in which both the upbringing (Erziehung) and
17 instruction and education (Bildung) take place. The family is the garden in
18 which the young plant, the child grows, tended by faithful gardeners. The
19 loving, perfect family produces children who know good from evil, and who take
20 their appointed, useful place in a healthy, happy society. Thus Gartenlaube
21 was holding a magic mirror to the German society of the mid 19th century --
22 a magic mirror which pictured the readers as they wished to be, but behind
23 these fantasy images stands the shadow of what they were.

Two Related Themes

- Jelly Schargo Hoyt

The Gartenlaube had quite consciously set itself as a magazine to
 1 center the circle of the family in its best form -- the closed, harmonious circle,
 2 which always in the end emerges triumphant against the outside world.
 3 Examining the world of these novels, we find, in effect, a concentric series
 4 of circles at the center of which is the family with all its immediate and
 5 peripheral members. The circle beyond the family would be the neighborhood,
 6 the very immediate neighborhood -- houses perhaps with gardens adjoining,
 7 or houses across from each other, where the neighbors' children (Nachbarkinder)
 8 play with one another -- a source of common memories through life. (In
 9 novels the sudden memory of neighborhood games may bring adults together
 10 again.) The next outer circle would be that of village or town in which one
 11 grew up, beyond this there is the region in which a town is situated and to
 12 which one feels real loyalty. All of Marlitt's novels deal with some
 13 undefined region of Thuringia. Hermann Schmid and Ludwig Ganghofer wrote
 14 only about Bavaria. Most of Werner's novels dealt with North Germany.
 15 Theodor Storm wrote about Schleswig-Holstein, Rudolf Herzog never left the
 16 Rhine. All these regions are in turn united within the larger circle of
 17 the German fatherland. Beyond that circle there is still another, that
 18 circle of Germans who live outside the fatherland, the Germans-abroad
 19 (Auslandsdeutsche), who physically have separated themselves from their home
 20 (Heimat) and who nevertheless still and always belong to it. One of the great
 21 appeals of the Gartenlaube, as well as one of the reasons for its enormous
 22 success, was that this magazine, focusing on the family, reached all these
 23

1 other circles, including that of the Auslandsdeutsche. Friedrich Gerstaecker,
2 who collaborated with the magazine until his death in 1872, was one of the
3 very important figures in translating the ideas of Deutschtum and Auslands-
4 deutschum¹ for the readers of the Gartenlaube. The term Heimat refers
5 mainly to the most immediate circle, but at the same time includes all the
6 concentric circles. Because of this complex picture, the problem of the
7 outsider becomes a very complex one too.

8 In the popular novels there are two types of outsiders who are always
9 considered to be outsiders. They belong to none of the concentric circles,
10 and they have no way of entering them. They are the Gypsy and the Jew.
11 In the Volksliteratur the Jew is very often the wandering merchant, who carries
12 his wares from one place to another, brings gossip from the neighboring
13 villages or from far distant lands, never stays long anywhere and seems to
14 have no home. He is tolerated, but has no attraction. The Gypsy has an
15 entirely different role. His freedom and mobility are admired nostalgically,
16 his life in the green forest seems to have an eternal appeal.

17 Jolly is the gypsy life
18 Needs to pay no tax to the king
19 Jolly is it in the greenwood
20 Where the gypsy lives.²

21 These are the words of a very old folksong. In the novels, the lure of

22 1. Auslandsdeutsche includes all those living outside the frontiers of
23 Germany on the European continent as well as the so-called Überseedutsche
24 (overseas Germans), who lived beyond the sea -- in German colonies or in America.

25 2. Lustig ist das Zigeunerleben
26 Farlaho
27 Brauchen dem Kaiser kein Zins zu geben
28 Farlaho
29 Lustig ist es im grünen Wald
30 Wo der Zigeuner aufenthalt.

1 gypsy life and the gypsy's inability to enter into any of the safe circles
2 are usually symbolized by the love of a young man for the gypsy girl
3 (Zigeunerkind) whose restless spirit even marriage and a family will not
4 hold. The love of Post von Gadowitz for the gypsy in Marlitt's Goldelise
5 is a classic example of this kind of tale.

6 Leaving aside those outsiders who never can be reintegrated into any
7 of the circles, one must now consider what happens within the circles.
8 Who is an outsider? What makes an outsider? Where is one an outsider?

9 It is quite striking that, contrary to the Gypsy and the Jew, the
10 outsider in popular German literature of the 19th century is not one who
11 finds himself completely outside the circles. He is much more a peripheral
12 figure, sometimes on the periphery of the last circle, sometimes on the
13 periphery of the central circle. He never seems to be completely out off
14 either from his family or his country, or his Deutschtum. The outsider
15 who, like Karl May, finds it impossible to adjust to the social reality,
16 escapes into a dream, escapes by becoming a lonely figure who does not even
17 fit into the circle of the Überseedeutscher. But there is one thread that
18 always holds him, almost like an invisible umbilical cord, and that is his
19 Heimweh, -- his nostalgia for his circle, his Heimat.

20 If one were to look for some common denominator for all the various types
21 of outsider (excluding Gypsy and Jew of course) one might say that they are
22 individuals who are maladjusted in their immediate circle, who seem to be
23 different from others; yet in the end they almost always in some way or
24 other re-enter the circles, either one of the larger circles or the inner
25 one of the family. It is significant that in the literature of the 19th

century (Gartenlaube and other) there are a very few outsiders indeed who escape entirely from the circles, not by death but by insanity. Insanity may be considered a means of escaping outside all of the circles, voluntary death on the contrary is more often a way of achieving reintegration.

In the historical pattern of the early 19th century, when the Napoleonic Wars were wreaking havoc in central Europe and Napoleon himself was erasing the shadow that had been the Holy Roman Empire from the European map, when the youth of the Germanies was, as it seemed, suddenly inspired by fiery patriotism and desires of internal reform, the outsider is the individual who seeks for things beyond the defined horizons, the one who departs on a quest for truth and beauty, as Heinrich von Ofterdingen searches for the blue flower (Novelis, 1802) -- the romantic desire for the poetic reality. In the search for the blue flower we have, right from the beginning, one of the accepted ways in which the outsider becomes reintegrated, -- i.e. by loving and understanding die Natur, nature around him. Such an outsider achieves his own peace and the world accepts him as apart, but within the circle. Even Peter Schlemihl (Chamisso, 1814), who loses his shadow, and thus his true place in society, achieves peace, contentment and happiness, and a place in society by following his vocation of "scientist of nature."

A generation later, when ideas of reform were becoming ideas of revolution and active intervention, when the youth came together in Burschenschaften, when, in order to live at peace in any one of the circles, one had to take a stand, the outsider was the individual who refused to take a stand -- the man who was torn between inner and outer conflict. He was the gerissener (torn) hero of the young German movement. Society seemed to push him out,

1 he belonged nowhere, he doubted everything and himself, and yet in the end
2 he returned into the circle of his immediate surroundings, the circle of the
3 family and particularly that of friendship. The young count of Gutzkow's
4 Die Ritter vom Geiste, is one of these "torn" outsiders who tries to integrate
5 back into his sphere by becoming active in politics, achieving status by
6 persecuting his liberal friends, and yet feels himself outside everything
7 until he gives up his position, leaves his country but enters once more
8 the circle of the knights of the spirit, the "Ritter vom Geiste."

9 After 1848, when the geographic and social problems of Germany emerged
10 more clearly and definitely from the fiasco of the Frankfurt parliament, when
11 the German middle class achieved a solid position and the German family was
12 consciously thought of as the fountainhead of all German existence, the
13 outsider became a more clearly recognized figure -- he was then, as one
14 novelist put it "unheilbar unbürgerlich" (incurably unbourgeois). In a
15 society which now definitely seemed to accept the group as the unit, he was
16 the "Einzelgänger" -- the man who walked alone; the "Eigenbrötler" -- the man
17 who baked his own bread; sometimes the "Sonderling" -- the "queer one"; more
18 rarely the "Aussenseiter" -- the outsider in literal statement. In a society
19 actively engaged in seeking the benefits of the industrial revolution,
20 which hit Germany with full force after 1870, the outsiders were: the dreamers,
21 the shy ones, who looked for peace rather than truth: schau (shy), sinnierend
22 (thoughtful), verträumt (dreamy) are the adjectives which most often describe
23 them. Their life goes on within. They are verinnerlichte Menschen -- deep,
24 intense human beings.

25 The Gartenlaube regarded the portrayal of the family group as its special

1 sphere. Hence, whatever outsiders there are in the "Gartenlaube" novels, are
 2 outsiders to the family group -- and there are but few. The fictional
 3 output of the 19th century outside the Gartenlaube shows a number of these
 4 who are intensely searching for peace, for a reintegration into the social
 5 structure. If they are women, they very often find integration by finding
 6 a soulmate who understands them, and together they now create their own
 7 family group. Heimbarg's Mansell Unnütz (1891) or her heroines in Unverstanden
 8 (1880) or Die Andere (1886) are such female outsiders, as is Helene Schläu's
 9 Isobias (1911).

10 The type of the feminine outsider is rather rare in 19th century German
 11 literature; the male figure is much more common. Their type is perhaps
 12 symbolized in Hermann Conradi's Adam Mensch (1889): "He has no fate, he is
 13 fate" (Er hat kein Schicksal sondern ist nur das Schicksal). He is the
 14 outsider, who really stands on the rim of each concentric circle and not
 15 outside it, acts as the deus ex machina, as the teacher, as the guide. He
 16 becomes the wise man who brings one circle in contact with the other.
 17 Stifter's novels, including Nachseher are full of such types, who find peace
 18 by studying nature and pass their wisdom on to the younger generation,
 19 molding them so as to take their place in the social pattern. Wilhelm
 20 Raabe's Leonhard Heigebucher (Raabe, 1867), who has been in Africa and who
 21 seems to have grown strange in "Europa, in Deutschland, in Huppenburg, und
 22 Braunsdorf," that is, in each of the narrower concentric circles, finds his
 23 place again by watching over the troubles of others, as a "Wachter vor einem
 24 Unglück in einer grossen See von Plagen," -- as the guardian against misfortune
 25 in a sea of troubles.

1 Georg Erenspurger, (Schieber, 1907) the son of a rich baker, dreary
2 and shy, finds his place by teaching music to the blind. Einhard der Lächter
3 (Hauptmann, 1907) becomes a wise man who finds his peace and place in his
4 solitude but stands as example for others.

5 Very few of these outsiders find themselves completely outside any other
6 circles. One exception is Friedemann Bach, the youngest of Bach's children.
7 Injustice has made him insane and he escapes society by following these
8 eternal outsiders, the gypsies. Another is the tailor of Ulm (Eyth, 1906)
9 who was born too early, who wanted to fly and who tried to re-enter a circle
10 by becoming a soldier, but dies insane. These voluntary outsiders, "outsiders
11 of the soul" almost always, then find a way to re-enter their circle.

12 But what happens to those who are made outsiders by circumstance, by
13 a crime they or their parents have committed, or by a profession such as
14 being executioner, for instance? Here it seems that society pushes them out
15 and closes itself completely against them. And yet we find that they too
16 have avenues of reintegration. There seem to be two ways open to them.
17 One is by becoming better than that group which seems to have pushed them out:
18 they save someone, they prove their greater strength and intelligence, they
19 suffer and their suffering is for the good of the community. In the end,
20 not only are they accepted once more, but they are accepted as leaders. In
21 Ernst Zahn's Albin Indergand (1901), the father was a poacher (Wilderer),
22 and the village despises the son for it. But he proves himself: he participates
23 in salvaging efforts when an earth-avalanche buries half the village; he
24 participates in the defense of the community in time of war. His strength,
25 intelligence and goodness win everyone over and in the end Albin becomes the

1 mayor of the village. This type of story is particularly frequent in the
2 Volksroman, the regional novels of north and south, represented in the
3 Gartenlaube by Hermann Schmid and Ludwig Ganghofer.

4 There is yet another way in which an outsider of this type can find his
5 place once more within the safe circles of the society and that is by
6 atoning for his guilt, whatever he may have done, through voluntary death.
7 "He has atoned for his guilt" (Er hat seine Schuld gesühnt) is an ever-
8 recurring sentence in these 19th century novels. The "Gartenlaube" stories,
9 intent on bringing only the "beautiful" -- though there are many stories of
10 atonement through suffering and death while saving someone -- only infrequently
11 resort to suicide as a solution. But more than ten percent of the novels
12 contained in the Romanführer³ have a suicide in them.

13 In the novels the problem of suicide is not only tied closely to that
14 of the outsider; it is also closely interwoven with the whole problem of
15 atonement for guilt, the whole attitude towards guilt. When one brings up
16 the frequency of suicides in German literature -- an observation which holds
17 true even in contemporary literature -- one is often confronted with statements
18 by critics and by informants that these suicides derive from Goethe's Werther
19 -- as glib an assertion as the 19th century French ditty which sang "C'est à
20 cause de Voltaire, c'est à cause de Rousseau" about the French Revolution.
21 Such a belief in no way expresses why Werther committed suicide, nor does it
22 analyze the reasons why the majority of heroes "leave life voluntarily"
23 (freiwillig aus dem Leben scheiden) -- as the formula states.

24 3. The Romanführer (1911) is a dictionary of writers and novels selected
25 in terms of their contemporary significance and popularity.

1 By committing suicide, Werther is punishing himself for leaving Lotta
2 and expiating that guilt. Significantly enough his guilt and atonement
3 made him immortal, and he entered not only into the circle of Lotta's family,
4 but into the circle of Deutschum. In the later novels suicide is rarely,
5 if ever, an attempt to escape from life; it is rather the means par excellence,
6 of returning, of achieving life through death, innocence through guilt.
7 The memory of the suicide who has atoned in such a way is geläutert -- cleansed
8 of all guilt; his atonement is fully accepted and his sacrifice is never
9 made in vain.

10 Among the earliest stories of this kind are Achim von Arnim's Armut,
11 Reichtum, Schuld und Busse der Gräfin Dolores (1810) and Clemens Brentano's
12 Geschichte vom braven Kasperl und dem schönen Annerl (1817). But the
13 literature of the latter part of the 19th century also includes a considerable
14 number of atonement suicides, connected very often with financial speculations
15 which endangered the safety of the family -- a common enough occurrence in the
16 "Gründerjahre." Atonement for guilt, self-inflicted punishment through
17 suicide seem to put a very different light on guilt. It is not necessarily
18 a stigma which makes one an outsider, but a temporary trial from which one
19 emerges, even if no longer alive, as a better and truer self and a fully
20 accepted member of one's circle. Goethe's "Die and Become" (Stirb und Werde)
21 seems to gain a new perspective, when seen against this background, but as a
22 motto of this whole trend in literature one might rather take the sentence
23 written by Thomas Müntz, one of the prophets of "Young Germany": "... The
24 people which has never been burdened by guilt, is the unhappiest. It has no
25 history. Guilt is the first step into world-history ..." Death is a
26 reintegration into one's Heimat where one's memory lives on, untainted.

IV. ATTITUDES TOWARDS WRONG-DOING AND "MAKING GOOD AGAIN"

AN ANALYSIS OF STORY COMPLETIONS BY 150 GERMAN PRE-ADOLESCENT SCHOOL CHILDREN

- Rhoda Métraux

1 This study is an analysis of a group of German children's attitudes
2 towards the handling of wrong-doing and "making good again" (wieder gut
3 machen) expressed in a series of story completions where the plots of six
4 situations, each concerned with an act of voluntary or involuntary wrong-
5 doing by a child, were presented to the subjects --children in school -- who
6 were then asked to write out the denouement. The intention of the study
7 was to see what factors in a series of given situations were regarded as
8 significant by the children who wrote the answers and how their attitudes,
9 reflected in the story solutions, were related to attitudes expressed by
10 German adults. The problem was one of working out common underlying patterns
11 of thought which would give insight into children's expectations of behavior
12 expressed in fantasy.

13 The Story Completion Form which was the basis for the study was worked
14 out by two American social psychologists, Dr. Gladys L. Anderson and Dr.
15 Harold H. Anderson, and the test was administered under their direction to
16 children in a number of schools in a German city in the summer of 1952.
17 Thus the six plot situations proposed to the children for solution were
18 not specifically German, but only the solutions to the problems given.
19 This study is based on a sample of the total material obtained by Dr. and Mrs.
20 Anderson and consists of the answers given by 150 children (56 boys, 94 girls)

21 1. I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. and Mrs. Anderson, both of
22 Michigan State College, for permission to make an independent analysis of
23 this sample of their material. As the present analysis was made entirely
24 without reference to their own analysis and the conclusions reached by them,
25 they have no responsibility for the conclusions reached here.

in classes in these different schools.

The method of analysis, an adaptation of pattern analysis² used for studies of public opinion, was open-ended and qualitative. The procedure followed was to synthesize the several plot solutions given for each of the six stories and to work out the plot details selected for emphasis and elaborated in the answers for each story version. As it was found in making the analysis that (with one or two exceptions that will be mentioned later) there were no consistent differences in the handling of solutions by boys and by girls, or by children of Protestant and Catholic background, or by the children in the different schools, the total sample³ was handled as a single unit in the final analysis.

When the detailed analysis of the plot solutions of the six stories had been made, a series of questions related to the material as a whole was raised, i.e. what are the common factors in the alternative solutions proposed in the several stories as far as the handling of plot is concerned? What⁴ seem to be the necessary steps in arriving at a conclusion? What are the children's expressed expectations about relationships between adult and child in the type of situation given (four and possibly five of the stories present situations involving adult and child -- mother and son, mother and daughter,

2. In this connection, cf. Metraux, 1943.

3. The entire sample was used in making the analysis, but in the case of certain stories, the detailed analysis is based on a portion of the sample. Cf. Section II below for summaries of the plot situations and of the answers given.

4. On this point only those stories which had been completed by the subjects could be included; hence the total included in the analysis is smaller than the total on which work was done on other points.

1 teacher (male) and children, teacher (woman) and girl pupil, boys and a
2 possible adult, man or woman(not specified)? What are the children's
3 expressed expectations about relationships between children (two of the
4 stories explicitly include two boys; two other stories suggest the possibility
5 of relationships between children being included in the plot solution)?
6 And, finally, how do the children reflect attitudes towards upbringing and
7 personal relations that are found in current German adult literature on child
8 care and pedagogy and in popular German juvenile fiction? In considering
9 the material it should be emphasized that these story solutions, written
10 by ten and eleven year old children, reflect a child's view of the world in
11 fantasy, but one that is meant to be presented to adults. In the instructions
12 given the children they were told: "We do not want to know who wrote the
13 stories" and also "Professor and Mrs. Anderson will take your stories back
14 to America with them."⁵

15 This presentation is divided into three parts. The first consists of
16 a brief summary of the six plot situations and a discussion of the principal
17 conclusions. The second gives the analysis of each of the plot solutions
18 to the several plot situations together with some discussion of particular
19 points that came out in the detailed analyses. The third summarizes the
20 administration of the test in the German schools.

1. Basic Attitudes Expressed in the Story Solutions

Five of the six stories have in common the fact that a child is faced with a situation where something has gone amiss through its own fault or by accident; in one an adult may or may not involve children in something which has gone amiss. Four (and possibly five) of the stories deal with problems of loss: a cap is lost, some food is lost, some money is lost, a school composition book is lost, a football kicked against a window may be lost; the other story involves accidental damage to another's property (which is also a possible interpretation in other of the story situations). Thus, the plot situations concern variations on two themes. In four (and possibly six) of the stories the child is or may be faced by conflict with an adult; in two (and possibly three other) stories there is possible conflict between two or more children. Thus, the plot situations present, at least in a limited way, possibilities for the comparison of child-adult and child-child relationships.

a. Story Plots and Plot Solutions

⁶
1. The Lost Cap: Two boys are going to school. Franz throws Peter's cap into a tree where neither can reach it.

Three alternative plot solutions are proposed by the writers: (a) Franz (who threw the cap) gets it down again, sometimes only after Peter has exerted pressure by crying or by bringing in or threatening to bring in an adult (own mother, Franz's mother, own father, teacher). The boys then go

6. The story titles have been given by myself for convenience in identification. Each of the plots is outlined in detail in Section II below.

1 off to school, friends again. (b) Peter (whose cap was thrown) retaliates by
2 starting a fight, throwing up Franz's cap, etc. When he gets even, and the
3 cap is recovered, the boys go off to school. (c) Peter has to get his own
4 cap. If Franz helps and/or apologizes all is well; if not, the friendship
5 breaks up -- Franz (or Peter) has to get a new friend. Similar motivations
6 are suggested for all three plots: it was done out of high spirits, to see
7 what Peter would do, to make Peter late to school, etc.; this does not
8 necessarily affect the outcome.

9 Although this is a story that concerns two boys, adults (or older
10 persons) are brought in three different ways, suggesting how the adult world
11 impinges on the child world: (a) the wrong-doer asks an older person to
12 help him set things right (Franz gets assistance in getting down Peter's
13 cap); (b) one boy (or both of them) becomes afraid when the cap is caught in
14 the tree -- one (or both) fears the scolding that will follow on the loss of
15 the cap and this then supplies motivation for their further acts -- Peter
16 cries, Franz decides to help Peter, etc; (c) the victim calls on an adult
17 to force the wrong-doer to set things right. This is an alternative to
18 personal retaliation. Thus, the stronger person who is feared (mother who
19 will scold because the cap is lost and who may then forbid the friendship
20 to continue) is brought into the situation as a defender of the victim.

21 7. For purposes of comparison, a small number of interviews were made
22 with American and French informants (children and young adults). These will
23 be referred to occasionally throughout this study. It is significant both
24 Americans and French repudiated the idea of calling in an adult to settle
25 the problem in this story. A French girl (young adult) describes a comparable
26 experience and says that the teacher whom she asked for help (French adults
27 are expected to interfere in actual fights) punished her for doing so and
28 sent her back to get her hair ribbon as best she could by herself.

1 Calling upon a stronger person in a situation of conflict and stress is one
2 of the consistent themes in these stories; the forms which it takes will be
3 discussed later.

4 2. The Lost Sausages. Michael plays with his friends on his way home
5 from an errand and a dog steals part of a package of sausages which he has
6 put down on the curb.

7 From the point of view of the writers, this story seems to involve two
8 acts of wrong-doing: playing while on an errand and losing part of the
9 sausages. Three plot solutions are proposed: (a) Michael comes home and
10 tells the truth; (b) Michael modifies the truth to omit the circumstances
11 of playing; (c) Michael tries to get out of the situation, usually by telling
12 a lie -- and usually by telling a lie that is easily uncovered and less
13 probable than the truth.

14 Irrespective of the solution proposed, Michael is scolded and usually
15 is punished in other ways; in some cases, he has to go and buy more sausages
16 with his own money. Thus the children accept the fact that wrong-doing must
17 be made good both by suffering and by actual restitution.⁸ The one Michael
18 who completely gets away with the loss is one who secretly gets his own
19 money and buys more sausages; the writer then says that Michael's mother

20 8. The theme of restitution runs through American and French answers
21 as well. However, in American answers the parent is likely to help the child
22 make restitution (advancing needed allowance, etc.), whereas in the German
23 version, the child has to use its own private resources, so that restitution
24 in this case seems to involve invasion of privacy -- the wrong-doer ceases
25 to have rights to privacy. (On this see below, The Lost Money.) In a French
26 answer, the emphasis shifted away from the child's act to concern about the
27 food: were the remaining sausages (bitten by the dog) still fit to eat?
28 This did not come up in the German versions, where Father might be given the
29 remaining sausages and Michael (and perhaps Mother) forced to do without.

1 was "content." (This solution is a major one in a later story, The Broken
2 Window; see below.)

3 Irrespective of the solution proposed, Michael signals to parent,
4 apparently involuntarily, that something is wrong: he blushes, stammers;
5 he tells a silly lie which the mother sees through. Occasionally, in spite
6 of the signal "nothing happens." This blushing, stammering, improbable-
7 lying response -- signalling wrong-doing -- is a recurrent theme in these
8 stories and is likewise recurrent in stories written about children for
9 children. It seems to tie into two important themes in German education
10 (a) the omniscience of the parent or educator (nowadays, in child care and
11 pedagogical literature, this is phrased as a need for the parent to learn
12 to know what is right and to make himself -- or herself -- omniscient, the
13 counterpoint -- that the parent does not know, that children keep secrets --
14 is a recurrent theme in informants' statements); and (b) that the ideal way
15 of making good again is by immediate, voluntary confession (see below,
16 The Broken Window). Thus, the children not only suggest that the adult
17 can know what is going on but also that they themselves give the adult
18 involuntary clues to the situation: the child does not have sufficient
19 control to protect itself in the face of superior knowledge and insight.

20 3. The Lost Money. A teacher misses some money that was lying on his
21 desk.

22 In the three solutions proposed for this story, it is assumed that the
23 teacher believes there is a thief in the class and in most versions the

24 9. The problem of German interpretations of "spontaneity" is dealt with
25 elsewhere in this report.

1 teacher, usually after asking for a confession (public), searches the class --
2 the desks, the books and school bags, and the children's clothes; (a) the teacher
3 searches and a thief is discovered (or confesses, or gives himself away,
4 or -- under pressure -- is given away); (b) the teacher searches and nothing
5 is found (the outcome is inconclusive); sometimes the teacher punishes the
6 whole class or pays himself back from the class funds; (c) the teacher
7 searches but later finds that he himself is responsible for the "disappearance"
8 of the money.

9 In this story the children take it for granted that the teacher will
10 believe there is a thief, but not that the teacher is omniscient or that he
11 is able to discover the thief. The teacher searches the whole class in
12 order to find the one possible culprit, that is, when something wrong has
13 been done, the writers assume everyone's privacy will be invaded. (This
14 is not made explicit in any way.)¹⁰

15 In a few cases, the thief is permitted to make a private confession and
16 extenuating circumstances are invoked (mother was sick, etc.) and the
17 thief (except in one story where the thief did not confess the same day)
18 is completely forgiven. (In contrast those who were caught had a "bad"
19 purpose, e.g. the culprit wanted to buy a ball, or candy, etc.) Thus it is
20 suggested that the person who confesses a wrong-doing has a "good" reason
21 and will be completely protected by the fact of confession. It is indicated,

22 10. This point is made explicitly in American answers: the teacher
23 thinks there must be a thief but hesitates to ask too much or to institute
24 a search because of the children who are innocent. A French answer lays
25 the blame on the adult ("What was the teacher doing with money in school?
26 Money and school don't go together...") thus shifting the focus of the story.

1 furthermore, that these confessing-thieves henceforth reform. And the story
2 goes no further.

3 In contrast, the thief who is caught publicly is punished in various
4 ways and the circle of punishers spreads beyond the school room to principal
5 and parents. In contrast to the children, the teacher -- when he finds that
6 he himself had mislaid the money -- is unlikely to make a public statement.
7 The adult is able to protect himself, where the child cannot.

8 4. The Inkspot on Mother's New Coat. Elisabeth, who is doing her
9 lessons, tries on Mother's new coat and gets an inkspot on it. Mother comes
10 into the room as she is trying to remove the inkspot.

11 There are two acts of wrong-doing (a) interrupting lessons, and
12 (b) trying on Mother's new coat. In this story there is a difference between
13 the girls' answers and the boys' answers, in that the girls (the story is
14 about a girl) lay more stress on the emotional aspects of the situation and
15 also write more about what happens to the coat, whereas the boys are more
16 matter of fact and are more likely to emphasize the interrupted lessons.
17 There is little clear-cut plot development of this story: Elisabeth is
18 scolded and punished; sometimes (more often boys) the spot is taken out,
19 sometimes not. Sometimes the child has to pay for having the coat fixed. In
20 a few cases Mother threatens to tell Father. The emphasis is on punishment.

21 5. The Broken Window. Two boys are playing football on a street.
22 Manfred kicks the ball into a window which is cracked. Karl thinks someone
23 came to the window. No one saw them.

24 In this story, two acts of wrong-doing are involved: (a) playing

1 football on the street instead of in the sport place; (b) cracking the
2 window.

3 In all versions of the story solution the boys first run away and hide.
4 There are then three main alternatives: (a) They get away with it and
5 decide henceforth to play ball on the sport place; (b) they fear being
6 caught (in some versions) and voluntarily confess and make restitution
7 (using own savings or working for money) and nothing further happens; or
8 (c) they are caught -- sometimes it is a neighbor, sometimes the houseowner
9 (man or woman), sometimes own mother who finds out -- and fall to quarrelling,
10 (in some versions) and are punished.

11 Thus the children who learn the lesson are those who get away with it
12 (see above The Lost Sausages and The Lost Money) and those who confess and
13 make good of their own volition (here using own money to make reparations
14 is the choice of the wrong-doer, not of the punisher as in the case of some
15 versions of The Lost Sausages and The Lost Money -- where the teacher takes
16 class money to make up the loss) are absolved from punishment. The children
17 who are caught are punished -- some of them by having to pay for the window
18 with their own money and some of them having to pay a police fine in
19 addition, etc. There is no question of the two boys quarreling with each
20 other except when they are caught -- then they break down and accuse each
21 other. (The friendship is also broken when adults intervene -- though at
22 the request of one of the boys -- in the story of The Lost Cap.)

23 6. The Lost Composition Book. Else, who often hands in compositions
24 late, writes one on time but loses her composition book on the way to
25 school.

Two main solutions are proposed for this story: Else goes to school and tells the truth; then, in about half the cases, the teacher does not believe her, but whether she believes her or not, Else is punished in various ways. In a much smaller number of cases Else tells a lie (often an improbable lie that worsens her situation); in about half the cases the lie is believed; in most cases again, Else is punished in various ways. As in the case of The Lost Sausages, the improbable lie serves to give Else away. As in other stories, the punishment spreads to involve others who also punish Else. In this story the underlying assumption seems to be that a child who has done wrong in the past will be punished in the present, even when it is not now actually at fault. One writer sums up the situation by saying: "That is what happens to disorderly children." And another: "Who once has lied will not be believed even when he tells the truth."

There are three minor contrasting plots: Another pupil brings back Else's lost book and Else is vindicated (again an accusation of the teacher as in The Lost Money); the teacher forgives Else and henceforth she is a model pupil (a repetition of the theme of getting away with it -- where (?) truth is a confession); the whole story of the loss was a lie and Else goes on without interference to even more reprehensible actions.

11. These moralistic points, not very often made explicitly in these story completions, echo the cautionary tales given young German children, e.g. Der Struwwelpeter (written by a father for his four-year old son in 1845 and still one of the very popular small children's books).

b. Attitudes Expressed in the Story Solutions

Handling of the plot. The outstanding point about the handling of the development of the stories by the children is their preoccupation with the idea of punishment and their acceptance of a moral attitude towards the consequences of misdeeds. Except in The Lost Cap (where the main characters are two boys), the climax scene, which is likely also to be the concluding scene of the story, is most often that in which punishment is meted out to the culprit.

The moral atmosphere of these stories is entirely secular: moral values are enforced by adults (parent and teacher, the principal of a school, the police) or by the child itself; there is no reference in these stories to supernatural agents of punishment or of protection against punishment. In this respect, the stories are very like juvenile literature of the late 1920s and early 1930s (which is still very popular), including stories by such different writers as Kästner, Speyer, Ury, and the authors of the Trotzkopf series.

Although the meting out of punishment is a central theme in the stories of adult and child, there is a difference between those in which a specific child is confronted by a specific adult (The Lost Sausages, The Inkspot on Mother's Coat, The Lost Composition Book) and the two (The Lost Money and The Broken Window) where this is not the given situation. Faced by the

12. For cross-cultural comparison on this point, cf. Wolfenstein, 1950.

13. Cf. Kästner (1933, 1938, 1949), Speyer (1927, 1931), Ury (1950, 1951, 1952), Roobol (1937), Wildhagen (1937). Earlier children's literature was more likely to be strongly Christian -- but in an ethical and mythological rather than in a religious sense.

1 adult the child may "look for a way out," but the resolution of the plot is
2 likely to involve the meting out of punishment. Where the adult faces a
3 whole group of children (The Lost Money) any one of whom may be a culprit,
4 or where the children are given a chance to escape (The Broken Window)
5 alternative solutions (but including confession) are also likely to occur.
6 In The Lost Money (the one story in which the adult is the protagonist)
7 a thief is sought for but in a large number of versions is neither identified
8 nor punished and the accusation may also be turned back against the accuser.
9 In The Broken Window both confession and escape are important solutions.

10 Thus punishment appears to be inescapable if you are found out -- if
11 you are immediately confronted with an adult who can or who does know what
12 has happened. In this connection it is worth recalling a statement often
13 made by informants -- that for children there is an eleventh commandment:
14 "unless you can get away with it."

15 In stories involving adult and child, there is little discrimination in
16 the kind of punishment meted out in different situations -- scolding, slapping,
17 boxing ears, beating, house or school "arrest," using child's own money to
18 make good a loss, telling another person who then also punishes, etc., are
19 standard punishments for the various misdeeds described in the stories.
20 It appears that there is an expectation that parents (and other adults) will
21 respond in standard ways to any kind of wrong-doing, accidental or intentional.
22 However, in many versions of The Lost Sausages (where this is one of the given
23 possibilities) Michael attempts to improve his situation by telling his
24 mother only about the episode of the dog that snatched the sausages, omitting
25 the fact that he had loitered to play (which some mothers then fill in of

1 their own accord); in so doing Michael tries to present himself as a victim
 2 rather than as a culprit. The dog episode plays into a very common threat
 3 made by German mothers to small children: "Watch out! Don't do such-and-
 4 such or the dog will bite you!"¹⁴ It is a threat which child care specialists
 5 specifically warn against or use as an example in telling mothers not to
 6 attempt to educate their children through the use of threats. Thus in
 7 manipulating this story situation the writers have Michael try to make
 8 himself into a victim using a device that covertly also suggests punishment
 9 has already taken place.

10 In German child care literature, parents are told (1) that every misdeed
 11 must be followed by punishment, and (2) that the punishment should be
 12 appropriate to the misdeed. What the children appear to have learned is
 13 that wrong-doing is followed by punishment.

14 The expectation of punishment is reflected in indicators that give
 15 adults definite clues that all is not well: the culprit blushes, has a red
 16 face, stammers, cannot look at Mother. Michael, the thief, the boys who
 17 break the window, Elisabeth, and Else, all exhibit these symptoms of anxiety
 18 and guilt. Thus the writers assume that the child involuntarily informs
 19 against himself. In contrast, no such statement is made about the one adult
 20 (the teacher in The Lost Money) who discovers he himself is at fault.¹⁵

21 14. Being bitten by a dog is a recurrent event in German "comic" and
 22 cautionary literature, e.g. Der Struwwelpeter, O diese Kinder, etc.

23 15. In this connection, however, it is important to realize that
 24 physical appearance is continually used as an indicator of character in
 25 German novels and films. The audience is given unmistakable clues to "good"
 26 and "bad" persons through descriptions of their appearance and one way of
 27 building audience tension is to raise the question of when or whether the
 28 persons in the story will recognise what audience already knows.

1 For each of the stories, however, alternative solutions are proposed:
2 the culprit confesses and makes good, and/or is rewarded, or the culprit gets
3 away with it.

4 The idea of confession as a solution is most clearly worked out in
5 The Broken Window, where the boys run away and hide and then decide to confess
6 and replace the cracked or broken window. In the face of possible exposure
7 and punishment, voluntary confession is chosen as the cheapest and safest
8 course of action. (One writer has the boys make a condition in their confession
9 the house owner is not to tell the parents; another writer has the boys
10 decide that it is cheaper to pay for the window than to be caught and have
11 to pay a police fine besides.) Voluntary confession also occurs in a few
12 versions of The Lost Money; the thief who confesses (in contrast to the one
13 who is caught) invariably has a "good" reason -- he is a poor boy who needed
14 money for medicine or food, etc. Thus confession seems to be intended to
15 indicate that the individual is really "good" and should not be blamed for
16 the incident.

17 It is significant that mere truth-telling is not equivalent to confession.
18 In many versions of the several stories the culprit (Michael, Elisabeth,
19 Else) tells the truth and is nevertheless punished. Telling the truth
20 combined with a promise "never to do it again" may (or may not) have the
21 effect of modifying the intention of the punishing parent (e.g. Michael).

22 16. The theme of the "good" person who gets into a bad situation occurs
23 in other story versions as well: the thief who stole the teacher's money
24 was a "fine boy" and so no one held it against him; Else who lost her
25 composition book was the best student in the class (a contradiction of the
26 plot situation) and so she was not blamed. And so on.

1 but does not carry with it the rewards of confession. For the child who
2 confesses may, in fact, be rewarded (e.g. the teacher gives the thief the
3 already stolen money; the houseowner tells the boys that he has a spare
4 window and they need not pay); confession of a second fault (a lie) may
5 carry with it absolution from the first fault (e.g. Michael admits he has
6 lied about the sausages and his mother says that she will not punish him
7 because "now you are telling the truth"). Confession seems to be most
8 effective when the culprit might have got away with it: the teacher has
9 not found out who took the money; the boys (who confess because they may be
10 caught) have not been caught. Voluntary confession seems to be valued to
11 the extent that (from the viewpoint of the child) discovery is forestalled
12 and that (from the viewpoint of the adult) discovery might not have been
13 effected. ¹⁷ Confession seems to be one way of handling the problem of the
14 omniscient parent who (as it is continually recognized in child care
15 literature, in fiction, and in the reminiscences of informants speaking
16 as parents or in terms of their own childhood) is, after all, by no
17 means omniscient in fact.

18 In these stories, the third alternative -- getting away with the wrong
19 act -- is, in an objective sense, the most effective one in that, in the

20 17. The rewards of confession -- combined with getting away with it --
21 are the focal point of a recent popular German novel (cf. Kades, 1951) in
22 which the hero, a medical student of great gifts pretends to be a doctor,
23 destroys a letter exposing his position, confesses and then (having meanwhile
24 become a doctor by passing his examinations) is tried, absolved of his crime,
25 and rewarded with a prized position. The assumption in this case, just as
26 in the stories told by the children, is that the doctor is fundamentally a
27 "good" (and exceptionally gifted) person who is put in a difficult situation
28 and should not be punished for a technical deception.

1 versions told by the children, the culprit himself resolves to do the right
2 thing henceforth.

3 In one respect, voluntary confession which is followed by forgiveness
4 and getting away with it are equivalent to each other: the child who is
5 forgiven and perhaps rewarded by the adult (the teacher gives the thief the
6 money; the teacher gives Else a new notebook) resolves to reform; likewise the
7 child who gets away with it decides to reform -- the two boys have learned
8 that the place to play ball is the sport place and henceforth play there.
9 The difference between the two situations, as presented in the stories, is
10 that confession presupposes an acquiescent adult and has the effect of
11 re-establishing warm relations between child and adult, whereas getting away
12 with it presupposes a punishing adult and leaves the child apprehensive and
13 apart (e.g. in one version the two boys go home "sad and lonely").¹⁸

14 In the one plot that involves co-equals (the two boys in The Lost Cap)
15 the handling of the situation is somewhat different, but the themes appear
16 to be related. If Franz, who threw up the cap, gets it down again, helps
17 to get down and/or apologizes to Peter, all is well and they continue to be
18 friends. (Here making good again in a literal sense parallels confession and
19 freely making good in relationship to an adult.) If he refuses to get it

20 18. There are, however, a few versions of children who get away with
21 it and who do not reform but thoroughly enjoy the fruits of their misdeeds,
22 e.g. a version of The Lost Money in which the whole class (or a group in
23 the class) are involved in the theft and later indulge in forbidden activities
24 such as buying and smoking a package of cigarettes. There is also a version
25 of The Broken Window where, instead of confessing, the two boys tell the
26 woman of the house that they are going to find the culprits who are bad
27 boys. The final step in such a story is given by only one child: the two
28 boys gloat publicly at having gotten away with breaking the window and at
29 that moment are unmasked and punished.

1 down, he may be punished through adult interference (the victim calls on
2 someone stronger than the bully), i.e. the victim invokes the child-adult
3 punishment pattern; or, alternatively, if Peter has to get the cap down
4 himself, he may be left without a friend, i.e. he gets away with it but the
5 human relationship breaks down. Here (in the loss of the friend) what
6 is left implicit in the adult-child getting away with it theme is made explicit
7 and the rewards of getting away with it are omitted. The third alternative
8 solution -- Peter revenges himself on Franz and when they are even they are
9 again friends -- suggests that retaliation is at least implicit in the stories
10 where the teacher is proved to be wrong and (in The Lost Money) himself the
11 culprit. The retaliation is indirect -- the child (writing the story)
12 knows the truth of the matter. Where Peter asserts his equality with Franz
13 by actual retaliation, the child asserts his strength (?) in relation to
14 the adult by indicating that he (not the adult) knows. But whereas getting
15 even restores the friendship of the two boys, the teacher (in most cases)
16 does not admit his error (the child writer, not the child in the story,
17 knows), or this step in the story is omitted entirely.

18 Both the stories involving adult and child and that involving the
19 two boys indicate that in punishment there is a danger of starting a process
20 that has no end. In some (though not all) stories it is not sufficient for
21 one person to punish the child; instead Mother threatens to tell Father or
22 does tell Father; Teacher tells Principal and also tells Mother, etc. Each
23 of these persons then joins in and also punishes the culprit. Thus an ever-
24 widening circle of strong, punishing persons presses in upon the individual
25 who is envisioned as a culprit. The process can be triggered either by

discovery or by a victim who calls on a stronger person for help. It can be stopped by confession or by making good again -- before discovery.

In contrast, when the weak person is defined as a victim rather than a culprit (Michael tries to turn himself into a victim and in one version of this story Grandmother enters and stops Mother from boxing Michael's ears; Else is sometimes pictured as a victim -- vindicated in her position when a "bigger girl" brings the lost composition book to class or when her mother affirms her explanation) then, after suffering, he may be saved by someone with superior strength to the bully.

From the point of view of the child, however, the strong person can get away with things with impunity: in none of the stories where the teacher has misplaced the money is he discovered or called to account; in none of the stories where the teacher has disbelieved Else and so wronged her is she called to account when Else is vindicated (except, as noted above, by implication -- the child writer knows).

Characterization of personal relationships. The main points in these story completions concerning the handling of personal relationships have already been referred to and need little further elaboration.

The story situations as presented include only two of the three generations that are part of the German family system. Given the two (parent or parent

19. On the roles of persons in the three generation family, cf. Louis Ferdinand's lengthy descriptions of his relationships to his grandfather (the Kaiser) and to his father (the former Crown Prince) and his tutors. His point of view towards his family is echoed in his political discussion of the relationship between the royal family, their advisers, and the common people of Berlin who are in a similar three step hierarchical relationship. (Louis Ferdinand, 1952.)

1 surrogate and child) and a situation in which the child is involved in a
2 misdeed the parent is pictured as someone who acts impulsively in punishment
3 and who majorly acts to stop something that has already happened and who
4 becomes kind only when the child exhibits obedience and a knowledge of what
5 would have been right.
21

6 It is perhaps significant that The Broken Window (which is open to inter-
7 pretation as a conflict situation between two boys) is treated as a two
8 generation problem as, in some versions, is The Lost Cap. The problems are
9 conceived not as between co-equals (the children tend to hang together until
10 faced with direct accusations) but between persons in complementary positions.

11 The actual parent involved in these story situations is the mother
12 (The Lost Sausages, The Inkspot), and the parent to whom difficulties are
13 referred in the plot solutions is more likely to be the mother than the
14 father; however, little differentiation is made by the children in the
15 expected behavior of the male and the female teacher, in the behavior of
16 mother and father when one or the other is drawn into the picture. The one
17 contrast figure (who occurs only in one version of one story) is a grandmother
18 who protects her grandson from excessive punishment. The range of adult
19 behavior and response by the child described by the children differs rather
20 in the amount of emotional intensity injected into the stories by different
21 children -- so that the stories vary all the way from straight unemotional
22 statements ("Elizabeth's mother took out the spot and then she went on with

23 20. A common complaint of subordinates in speaking of professional
24 superordinates is that "They do not listen," i.e. they do not hear the other's
25 case.

26 21. Cf. Mead, 1949.

her lessons") to tearful, emotionally fraught dialogues ("Dear, dear Mummy, please, please don't be angry, I will never do it again, oh please please don't tell Father or else I'll be beaten, oh please.") but there is a tendency for a mood to hold consistently throughout the stories told by a particular child. Thus in these story solutions to a series of rather similar plot situations one is given little sense of sex differentiation of parental roles as these are portrayed by the children, but rather of differences in intensity and in expectations of harshness or indulgence in the fantasy picture of an adult.

In describing the relations between children (two boys in both stories where two children are mentioned in the plot situation), the boys seem to keep a straighter story line in their solutions than do the girls. The slight tendency of the girls to mix different plot elements is, however, probably only to be attributed to the fact of easier identification with the proposed situation by the boys and, perhaps, to a real lack of knowledge

22. This statement is based on a rather rough estimate of mood changes or of mood consistency within the series of completions made by each individual respondent, not upon detailed analysis of this point. A more careful estimate was made difficult for several reasons, e.g. copying from neighbors (there was considerable evidence that children copied the idea for one or another -- usually not all -- story solution, but this could not be checked without a seating plan of the classes especially as practically identical stories also came from children writing in different classrooms); the story arrangements which made it easier for boys to identify with the child characters -- so that throughout there seems to be some tendency for the girls to be more punishing, more emotional, etc.

23. This is consistent with portrayals of adults in juvenile fiction, where -- in a particular family -- Father and Mother are contrasted in their character and behavior but Father or Mother may be the one who is practical or a dreamer, hasty or deliberate, etc.

24

1 on the part of girls of how two boys who are friends act to one another.

2 Where a group of children is opposed to adults, it appears to be assumed
3 that the children will hang together until direct pressure is brought to bear
4 by the adult, i.e. the two boys in The Broken Window act as a unit (in some
5 versions they are portrayed as brothers) until and unless they are directly
6 accused by an adult -- then they fall to quarreling and to mutual accusation.

7 And even when one child brings in an adult to punish another child (e.g.
8 Peter, who has lost his hat, calls on Mother or Teacher to force Franz to
9 get it back) the friendship is not necessarily broken, i.e. after the teacher
10 has punished Franz "the two boys went off joyfully together." In some
11 versions the onus for the break in the friendship is put on the adult, i.e.
12 "and then Peter's mother forbade him to play with Franz." Similarly, fear
13 of adult reaction enters into the children's behavior to each other. Thus
14 we are given a picture of solidarity of children opposed to adults and of
15 adults (all joining together to punish a culprit) opposed to children,
16 and of the child group breaking down under adult pressure or because adult
17 pressure is available to a child to be used against another child.

18 24. This may be partly an age factor of the children writing the stories;
19 for in Germany the play groups of both sexes tend to break up into groups
20 or pairs of boys or girls somewhere between ten and twelve.

21 25. It should be remembered that both boys are equally involved in the
22 original misdeed that precipitated the breaking of the window -- both were
23 playing ball on the street, a forbidden activity.

24 26. It should be remembered that there are no story situations given in
25 which an adult is pictured as facilitating a child's action; the opposition
26 is part of the story situations (but adult facilitation of various kinds
27 does enter in American children's story solutions).

Summaries of Main Points in Children's Stories

1

1. The Lost Cap

Plot Situation: Peter and Franz were going to school. Suddenly Peter grabs Peter's hat and throws it high in the nearest tree so that Peter cannot get it down with his hand. Franz had never done anything like that before. Franz and Peter did not have a quarrel the day before. Why did Franz do this? What does Peter do? What does Franz think? What does Peter think?

In the story completions written by the school children, there are three principal plot solutions:

1. Franz gets the cap down again and the boys go on to school.

This is the plot that is most fully elaborated and extended in various ways, e.g.

Peter insists that Franz get the cap and Franz does, or

Franz refuses when Peter insists that he get his cap and Peter cries and Franz is sorry for him and gets the cap, or

Franz refuses to get the cap when Peter insists and Peter threatens him and Franz gets the cap

And then the boys are reconciled and go on to school.

The motivations given by the writers of this group of answers vary considerably: Franz did it for a joke; out of high spirits; to tease Peter; to make Peter late for school; to make Peter angry; to see what Peter would do, etc.

In a few cases Franz has to get the help of another person (a passing man, a bigger boy, Peter himself) to get the cap down.

1. Based on an analysis of the whole sample. Answers from boys and girls varied too much from one set of answers to another to make any significant points about sex differences. Both used the same types of plot; at most one could say that the girls tended to emphasize the punishing aspects and the breakdown of the friendship more frequently and perhaps more vehemently than the boys did.

Rarely, Peter gets angry and goes off and they quarrel or the friendship is ended. This ending crosses over into Plot No. 2.

2. Peter has to get his own cap down himself.

In this version of the plot Peter is likely to get angry, and there are usually unpleasant consequences for Franz: Peter tells his mother, who forbids him to play with Franz; Peter tells the teacher, who punishes Franz - or Franz is afraid that she will do so; Peter tells Franz's mother, who punishes him, etc. Alternatively, Peter decides not to tell teacher, not to take the episode seriously, etc. -- not to jeopardize the friendship.

There are, however, various mitigating circumstances that alter the conclusion of this version of the plot: Franz helps Peter get his cap down; Franz apologizes to Peter for having thrown the cap; and so on. There are also ways of making good again -- Peter may not get angry or may get over his anger and the friendship is resumed. These stories then slip over into Plot No. 1: the boys are reconciled and go to school.

3. Peter retaliates and the friendship is resumed.

In these versions of the story, the main point is not getting the cap back but getting back at Franz: Peter boxes Franz's ears; throws Franz's cap in the tree; hits him (and perhaps Franz hits back). When they have got even with each other, they are friends again. Alternatively, this also slips over into Plot No. 2 and the friendship is ended.

The motivations for this plot version are also various: Franz wants to make Peter angry; wants to know how Peter will react; thinks Peter will

1 take anything; does it as a joke, etc.

2 The plot also slips over into Plot No. 2 in that Peter may take his
3 revenge by telling someone else, e.g. the teacher, who punishes Franz.
4 In one case the teacher then gets the cap, Franz and Peter thank him and
5 go off happily.

6 4. Miscellaneous versions of story.

7 There are also a few other variations: e.g. a teacher was passing
8 by and Peter did not take his cap off and therefore Franz threw it up in
9 the tree; Franz was envious of Peter's new hat (in one solution they both
10 get new caps); Franz was not angry at Peter but at Peter's brother; and
11 so on.

12 Thus the two plots (1 and 3) with positive solutions to the problem
13 posed turn on the questions of (a) making good again or (b) getting even.
14 When these alternatives are not chosen, the friendship is likely to break
15 down -- unless the victim values the friendship too much to let one
16 incident spoil it (or, in another case, unless the friendship itself is a
17 secret and forbidden one²).

18 The two boys may get angry at each other, or one gets stubborn and
19 the other gets angry; this may result either in a temporary rift
20 (until the stubborn one relents, the angry one gets even, etc.) or else in
21 a permanent break.

22 2. On this point, cf. Heese's novel Demian (1923), in which the
23 hero - a young boy - is persecuted by a bully who gets secret power over
24 him. He is rescued from the situation only when another boy, having
25 penetrated the secret, threatens the bully and in turn becomes the main
26 influence in the hero's life. Danger and secrecy are closely related in
27 German juvenile and popular adult literature.

1 There is, however, another emotional thread running through the
2 stories: one or the other of the boys (or both) becomes afraid: Peter
3 is afraid that he will be punished for losing his cap, or that he will
4 spoil his clothes if he climbs the tree; Franz gets a bad conscience when
5 Peter cries, or gets frightened when Peter threatens him, etc. The
6 possibility of fear is used by Peter as a threat, or as a retaliation,
7 or as a punishment -- Peter threatens to go to, or does go to Mother,
8 Father, Teacher. (In a few cases Franz gets the help of larger persons to
9 get the cap down.)

10 The story suggests that friendship includes only two people and that
11 a boy only has one friend at a time, for, as the writers say: "Now
12 Franz has to look for a new friend"; or "Now Peter has no friend."

13 Even a minor incident -- where the motivation is to tease, or to
14 annoy, or to see what will happen, or merely an explosion of wild spirits
15 -- can be a test of friendship. The friendship can be endangered from
16 within: Franz refuses to make good again; Peter regards the incident as a
17 provocative one. Or it can be endangered from without: Peter will be
18 blamed (by his parents) for losing his cap, etc. The significant point
19 is that Peter calls in Teacher, Mother, Father, etc. as a means of
20 retaliation or as a threat. (In one story, Peter goes to tell his father
21 and then Franz gets the cap back and then the writer is ambiguous as to
22 whether Peter merely threatened to tell Father or actually did tell him,
23 for he has Peter say it was lucky Franz got the cap "or you would have had
24 my father to deal with.") The weaker person calls on someone stronger
25 than the bully to set things right; sometimes this is a person by whom

- 1 he himself feels threatened (as when Peter --afraid of being scolded
2 by a parent -- calls that parent to his defense).

3

2. The Lost Sausages

3 Plot Situation: The mother sends Michael to the butcher. He is to buy
4 two pair of fresh sausages. On the way home he lays the package of
5 sausages on the curb and plays with his friends for a little while.
6 Suddenly a wolfhound runs up and pulls a pair of sausages out of the package
7 and runs away with them. Michael wraps up the rest of the sausages and
8 brings them home. What does Michael say to his mother? What does the
9 mother do? What does Michael think then?

10 Of the 148 children who answered this question, 69 said that Michael
11 told the approximate truth, and 69 said that he lied or prevaricated
12 (told a modified version of the truth); another 5 had him try to get out
13 of answering at all, with varying success (usually he was forced into
14 telling the truth); in the other 5 stories the plot was not clear or the
15 writer merely made moral reflections. Thus slightly more than half of
16 the children (74) tried to ease Michael's situation by having him lie or
17 modify the truth, and slightly less than half (69) had him tell the truth .

18 The following analysis is based on a sample of 82 answers.

19 1. The consequences of telling the truth:

20 Half the sample (41) have Michael tell the truth. In two cases he
21 gets off scot free. In two cases, he suffers in advance -- is afraid,
22 etc. -- but "nothing happened." In the other stories (36), he is penalized

23 3. In this analysis the total sample (148 answers) was used to work
24 out the plot lines. A smaller number (82 answers) was analyzed in full
25 detail.

1 in some way (sometimes in several ways): by scolding and anger (25);
2 by threats (2); by having to pay for the sausages out of his own money
3 (5); by punishments -- slaps, earboxings, whipping, house-arrest (14).
4 In one case the mother did not believe the truth.

5 2. The consequences of telling a lie or of prevaricating:

6 Slightly less than half the children (37) have Michael lie or
7 prevaricate. In three cases the mother accepts the lie; in eight she
8 doubts or disbelieves it (as a main consequence). Again there are
9 descriptions of the mother scolding (9), punishing (6), and of Michael
10 having to pay out of his money (5), and of the mother threatening to tell
11 father (1). In one case, the mother accepts the truth when Michael
12 admits it. No further results are stated in 9 cases.

13 This summary does not include the number of statements about
14 discomfort and feelings of guilt that Michael suffered -- irrespective of
15 the outcome. Otherwise, comparing the consequences of telling the truth
16 and telling a lie, it is obvious that the lie pays off (even when the
17 lie is not wholly effective, i.e. when the mother knew or suspected the
18 truth), for on the whole, the results are less painful than when Michael
19 tells the truth. Apparently, in telling this story the writers openly
20 accept the idea of punishment for acknowledged misdeed and tend to suppress
21 the consequences of following a misdeed with a lie.

22 There are two images that appear in these stories, irrespective of
23 whether Michael solves the problem with a lie or with the truth or with
24 some modification of the truth:

1 1. Michael is red in the face. This is a sign to the mother that
2 all is not well when he appears at home.

3 2. Michael is or becomes afraid at some point -- before he arrives
4 home, when his mother looks at him, when she looks at the sausages, when
5 she scolds him, when she has seemed to accept the lie, etc. However,
6 in these stories the fear is not necessarily realized: "he came home
7 afraid... nothing happened." And the true cause of the blushing may not
8 be divulged. The emotional tone is clear in such statements as the
9 following:

10 ... Dear, dear Mommy please please don't be angry about it. The
11 mother scolded a little Michael now thought that his mother
12 did not trust him anymore and this was very painful.

13 Michael goes to his mother with a beating heart, lays the rest of
14 the sausages on the table and disappears upstairs ... / He lies
15 about the dog. / He was hit and ran away crying.

16 When he came home he was red in the face and said to his mother
17 in a stammering voice...

18 / The mother doubts Michael's lie but says nothing. / Michael
19 got a bad conscience and cannot look up to his mother anymore.

20 The play between truth and falsehood in these stories is illustrated in
21 the following:

22 Michael perhaps told his mother the truth and then his mother
23 began to scold. Then Michael thinks perhaps it would have been
24 better if I had said nothing ...

25 Michael says there were no more sausages, or perhaps he tells
26 the truth. If his mother finds out she will hit him, but if she
27 does not find out she will get some more sausages. Michael will
28 think, if only I hadn't done it.

29 Some of the stories illustrate both in minor detail as well as in
30 the major point made the idea of "alles wieder gut machen" -- making good
31 a wrong. Thus, in the 82 stories, 10 have Michael pay for the sausages

4

1 out of his own money. In addition, for instance, if Michael promises
2 never to do it again as he tells his story, the mother is more lenient.
3 Irrespective of the story told and its consequences for Michael, there
4 is likely to be a resolution by Michael henceforth to obey, to tell the
5 truth, etc. However, in one case the mother does not accept the promise
6 to reform and the boy is enraged; in another case, when Michael promises
7 henceforth to obey and is forgiven, he is still "sad" and "helpful to
8 his mother" all day long.

9 Ideally, it seems that the mother who accepts the offer to make up
10 for badness by goodness (or promise of goodness) is the one who is
11 rewarded. In one story where Michael lies (says he forgot to get the
12 sausages) and hurriedly takes his own money and secretly buys more
13 sausages, the writer comments that the mother was then "content." The
14 ideal pair are (a) the wrong-doing but truthful child who promises to do
15 better (b) the threatening and forgiving parent.

16 One other situation can be noted: the child who lies and who is
17 then forced to admit the truth, may then be forgiven entirely because
18 "now he told the truth." That is, the original fault is covered by the
19 the more recent virtue of confession.

20 4. Having to spend own money is serious for a German child who
21 usually does not get an allowance and whose savings consist of small
22 presents given him on special occasions -- birthday, Christmas, etc.

23 5. This echoes the Franz-Peter story, especially as it is told by
24 boys. There, if Franz gets the cap back or if he helps Peter get it
25 back or if he apologises for what he has done, all goes well -- they
26 remain friends and there is no retaliation.

1 Just as in the story about Franz and Peter, this story involves
2 mainly Michael and his mother. Other characters are brought in only in
3 a very few of the stories (of the 82 analyzed in detail). In two cases
4 the mother threatens to denounce or does denounce Michael to his father.
5 In one story a neighbor tells the mother that her dog has brought home
6 some sausages (thus confirming Michael's story). In one story the
7 grandmother comes in and takes Michael into her protection when the
8 mother boxes his ears. In one story Michael fears that his friend may
9 betray him (but he does not).

6

3. The Teacher and the Lost Money

10 Plot Situation: The teacher (man) suddenly discovers that two Marks have
11 disappeared from his desk. He looks up and sees that the whole class are
12 quietly working on their arithmetic lesson. He considers what has happened
13 to the money and what he should do. What does the teacher do? End this
14 story with some sentences. Tell what happened to the money, and also exactly what
15 teacher thinks and what he does.

16 The plot in this story turns on the children's assumption that
17 the teacher will believe there is a thief. Of the whole group (150 answers)
18 93% start with this assumption; in six other answers, the point is not
19 made clearly or is not stated; three children did not answer the question.
20 There are however several variations in what happens:

- 21 1. There is, in fact, a thief in the class (66 answers)
 - 22 a. The teacher searches and catches the thief (56 answers)
 - 23 b. The teacher searches but does not catch the thief (7 answers)
 - 24 c. The thief is allowed to make an anonymous return (3 answers)

25 6. Based on an analysis of the total sample of 147 answers.

- 1 2. The outcome is inconclusive: the teacher searches for a thief
2 but does not find one (and it is not stated whether there is
3 a thief) (43 answers).
- 4 3. The teacher searches and does not find a thief. Later he finds
5 the money himself -- the accusation is turned back against the
6 accuser (32 answers).

6 In most cases where the writers state that there is in fact a thief,
7 he is apprehended and dealt with (usually punished in some way); the
8 thief is rarely allowed to make anonymous return. Among the 7 cases
9 where the thief is not caught, the whole class may be involved in the
10 theft, and so accept punishment and later enjoy themselves.

11 As it is told the main point of the story is the teacher's belief
12 that someone in the class has stolen the money and his increasingly
13 angry search for the supposed thief. This is described in some detail
14 whether or not the writer says that there is a thief.

15 The descriptions of the teacher's behavior -- irrespective of the
16 plot solution -- follow a definite pattern, although not all the steps
17 are given by all the writers:

18 The teacher looks around, gets suspicious, asks the class about the
19 money (sometimes at once, sometimes waiting until the end of the lesson).
20 The class says nothing or no one says anything (no one announces himself).
21 The teacher threatens to search the class or to punish the whole class.
22 No one says anything. He searches the class -- opens books and bags and
23 rummages through desks and pockets; he is very angry. (He finds the
24 money in various places.) (Or later the money drops out of a pupil's
25 pocket.) He goes to the principal.

1 1. If there is a thief, there may be a confession at any step:

2 The teacher looks around the room -- a boy blushes.

3 The teacher asks the class -- a boy blushes; a boy confesses
4 then or later.

5 The teacher asks the class and threatens them -- a boy blushes;
6 a frightened pupil tells.

7 The teacher searches the children individually -- a boy
8 blushes, etc.

9 The teacher goes to the principal -- a boy is caught trying to
10 return the money in the teacher's absence.

11 2. If the outcome is inconclusive (we -- the readers -- do not know

12 if there is a thief) the same pattern is followed:

13 The teacher asks, no one answers.

14 The teacher is angry.

15 The teacher makes an accusation.

16 The teacher doesn't know what to think.

17 The teacher (punishes the whole class,
18 (searches the whole class,
19 (goes to the principal.

20 The teacher makes the class pay him back.

21 3. If the accusation is false:

22 The teacher asks, the children say no or nothing.

23 The teacher asks again and is suspicious, angry.

24 Everyone searches and the money is found near or on the teacher.
25 Or:

26 The teacher searches the whole class and gets angry; he punishes
27 the whole class or threatens punishment; later he finds
28 the money on the desk, in a book, etc.

1 What does the teacher do when he finds he himself has misplaced
2 the money? Only 12 (out of 32) children attempt to deal with this
3 problem:

4 He thanks the children (2); he apologizes (3); he wonders how it
5 was possible (1); he is satisfied or relieved and glad no one stole
6 the money (4); he doesn't know what to do (1); he never mentions
7 it again (1).

8 Other comments on this situation are also worth noting:

9 (The money was in his pocket) - he had carelessly put it there.

10 (The money was in the class bank) - if he had looked right away he
11 would not have had to search for it.

12 (The money was in the wastebasket) - he had thrown it away.

13 (The money was on the floor) - he got excited too easily.

14 The children also indicate that the teacher gets enraged at their own
15 helpful suggestions and comments, i.e. when a child gets up and says no
16 one in the class is a thief; when a child suggests the money has blown
17 out of a window (it has blown into a closet); when the children suggest
18 that they search.

19 Thus, while the majority of the children assume that there is a
20 thief (whether or not he is caught) or at least that the teacher will
21 believe there is a thief (whether or not there is positive evidence),
22 others defend themselves by turning the accusation against the accuser
23 and by describing the wrong-doer as someone who will not accept help.
24 In most cases (20 out of 32) they do not attempt to describe his later
25 actions; in only 5 cases (out of 32) does he admit his wrong. Thus, where

1 the child as wrong-doer is punished when found out, the adult who
2 discovers he has done wrong and in addition may have accused others of
3 his own fault, keeps his discovery to himself (?).

4 The fate of the thief:

5 The fate of the thief is not always discussed, but there are
6 alternative solutions (a) the thief is caught or confesses under duress
7 and is suitably punished (kept in after school, taken to principal,
8 parents are informed, the thief is removed from class, etc.) or (b) the
9 thief is forgiven and does not steal anymore.

10 Although this is not invariably the case, confession and forgiveness
11 are likely to be paired: the thief is a poor boy, the teacher understands
12 and even gives him the money; the teacher likes the boy because he is now
13 honest and the boy does not steal again. In one case it is stated that
14 no one held it against the boy because he was a fine boy. In one case
15 it is said that poverty is not a reason for stealing and the boy is mildly
16 punished (the teacher would have given him the money had he asked). In
17 another case the confession does not have the usual beneficial effect
18 because the boy waited until the next day before admitting he was at
19 fault.

20 In general, the children hang together (although it is seldom clear
21 whether or not they know who the thief is) until the teacher brings great
22 pressure to bear -- threats, searching, etc. -- then one may accuse
23 another child. But in a number of cases, they mutely accept joint punishment
24 when the thief is not discovered; the teacher's threat does not (cannot ?)
25 work.

1 In this story, as in the story of Michael and the sausage, the
2 guilty child is likely to give himself away by blushing -- i.e. teacher
3 can see who is at fault and the child cannot protect himself from discovery.
4 In one or two cases, however, the wrong child blushes -- blushes at the
5 general accusation rather than at individual guilt. Therefore, this is
6 not a sure sign -- it may be misinterpreted.

7

4. The Inkspot on Mother's New Coat

7 Plot Situation: Elisabeth is sitting in the living room doing her
8 lessons. She thinks about her mother's new coat. She would like to see
9 whether it is becoming to her. When she takes it off again she notices
10 that she has got inkspots on her mother's new coat. Just as Elisabeth
11 is rubbing the spots out, her mother comes into the door. What does her
12 mother say? What does each think? What does Elisabeth say? What does
13 each do?

14 In this story there are two possible misdeeds (1) interrupting
15 lessons to play, and (2) trying on Mother's new coat; an accident follows --
16 the child gets inkspots on the coat.

17 The girls' and the boys' stories differ somewhat in their emphasis:
18 The girls emphasize the emotional situation: the scoldings that follow
19 on discovery and the punishments threatened and given. The boys' answers
20 are less emotional and there is a greater scattering in the plot resolutions
21 devised: they have Elsie try to get out of her predicament, or speak of
22 the scoldings, or about getting the spot out of the coat.

23 The girls are more concerned about the coat; 12 of the 26 girls
24 describe what happened to the coat (mother took out the spot; the spot
25 doesn't come out; both try to get the spot out, etc.). Only 7 of the 20
26 boys mention the coat (but they are more optimistic -- the spot comes out.

27 7. Based on a detailed analysis of 46 answers (26 girls, 20 boys).

1 everything is arranged). The boys pay more attention to the lessons
 2 3 boys (as against 4 girls) mention the lessons that were interrupted and
 3 in a few cases (girls as well as boys) either imply that the accident
 4 occurred because the lessons were interrupted or say that Mother is angry
 5 because the lessons were interrupted:

6 Elisabeth wanted to get the inkspot out while Mother was still
 7 away. Because of her (mis)behavior in trying on Mother's coat,
 8 she couldn't get the spots out 8 ...

9 The mother scolded very much and said: "When one is doing one's
 10 lessons, one doesn't leave them and sees to it that one gets
 11 finished."

12 In these stories one wrong substituted for the other or plays into the
 13 other.

14 The girls' answers are more openly emotional: Mother threatens and
 15 scolds and punishes, is enraged and will not listen, is too upset to do
 16 anything. Else cries and begs for forgiveness, and Mother also weeps:

17 Elisabeth what do you mean by making an inkspot on my new coat.
 18 I shall tell that to your father and this evening you will get
 19 your beating just wait and you will get house-arrest also, I will
 20 look out for that. Elisabeth feels terribly frightened and the
 21 mother feels a terrible fury. Dear, dear Mummy, please please
 22 don't be angry at me I will never do it again, oh don't tell father
 23 or I will be beaten oh please. Elisabeth asks her mother to excuse
 24 her and the mother hits Elisabeth besides.

25 There is no story among this set that deals with reconciliation.
 26 At best, Mother gets the spot out and life goes on, or they both try to
 27 forget the incident.

28 There are a few reversals. Occasionally Else is said to become
 29 afraid, but in one case it is Mother who "gets a fright." In one story,

30 8. This reminds one of the German fairytale of the orphan taken to
 31 Heaven by the Virgin who gets gold on her little finger when she opens
 32 a forbidden door. The evidence of misdeeds that cannot be removed is a
 33 recurrent fairytale theme.

1 Mother believes a lie, thanks Else and helps her get out the spot. In
 2 another story involving a lie, it is Mother who "sobs." In one story the
 3 whole problem is neatly avoided through matter-of-factness: Mother gets
 4 some benzine and takes out the spot.

5 In more than half the stories, Mother first asks Else what she is
 6 doing and then proceeds to scold or punish. Especially in the girls' ⁹
 7 stories, however, Mother sees what is going on and begins by scolding.

8 There is in these stories some repetition of the blushing reaction;
 9 here it typically accompanies the plot in which Else is trying to get out
 10 of her predicament:

11 The mother wonders what Else is doing with her new coat. Else gets
 12 red in the face and looks for a way out (Ausrede - an excuse)...

13 / Else pretends that she has not been trying on the coat, but just
 14 trying to get a spot out. / "... and I wanted to please you."
 15 "But the spot wasn't in it, I think you have tried it on." "Mother
 16 I certainly didn't have it on." "Wait until Father comes then you
 17 will experience something." Elisabeth got red and went into the
 18 room and went on doing her lessons.

19 As in the previous stories (The Lost Sausages, The Lost Money) blushing is
 20 a signal to the adult of wrong-doing by the child, and, as previously,
 21 it signals that the child may be trying to get away with something.

22 9. Both of these versions are of course triggered by the questions
 23 that the children are to answer in finishing the story. The children do
 24 not really have the choice of having Else saying something first or of
 25 having an action precede a statement by someone. (See story outline.)

5. The Broken Window

1 Plot Situation: Manfred and Karl are playing football. They knew that
 2 they should not kick on the little street in front of the house. Manfred
 3 kicks the ball and it flies into a windowpane, which gets a big crack.
 4 Karl thinks that someone came to the window. No one could have seen who
 5 kicked the ball into the window. End this story with some sentences and
 6 describe what you think both boys thought and did.

7 There are two possible problems of wrong-doing here: (1) the boys were
 8 playing in a forbidden place; (2) they broke (cracked) a window with the
 9 ball. The main question that shapes the writers' plots is: Have the boys
 10 been seen? This underlies the practical question which is implied:
 11 If the boys run off, can they get away with it? In most cases it is
 12 assumed by the writers that the boys recover their ball; but if they do not,
 13 the ball may become central (3) -- how explain the loss of the ball?
 14 One writer gives no plot -- only moral reflections. The plots run as
 15 follows:

- 16 1. The boys run away and are not found out (12 answers)
 17 a. They are not discovered - the woman thinks it is another boy.
 18 b. They go somewhere else to play.
 19 Thereafter (they play in the sport field, or
 (they do not play in front of the house.
 20 The window was only cracked.
 21 c. They run and hide in (M'S) (K's) house
 22 They are safe.
 23 They are afraid, red.
 24 They are not discovered.
 25 Thereafter they do not play in front of the house.

26 10. Based on a detailed analysis of stories by two classes (36 boys,
 27 28 girls) of whom 35 (22 boys, 13 girls) answered this question and completed
 28 the story sufficiently for analysis. The analysis therefore is based on
 29 35 answers.

1 d. They know what would happen if they were discovered - police
2 and a fine -- they go home with heavy hearts.

3 2. The boys are seen, are found out and punished (10 answers)

4 They run away but

5 They are seen (by a man, woman, neighbor who tells (houseowner
6 (mother of boy
(by mother (or mother hears about)

7 (Seen and caught) they accuse each other and both are threatened
8 with punishment, or

9 (Seen) they apologize but it doesn't help.

10 They are taken to the police and have to pay a fine.

11 They have to pay for the window.

12 They are punished at home (whipped, etc.).

13 3. The boys decide to admit they have broken the window and to pay for
14 it (8 answers)

15 They run away and hide

16 They are afraid, trembling (when father asks what they
17 have done), have a bad conscience - they may have been seen.

18 If they have been seen, they will have to pay fine in
19 addition to paying for window.

20 If they have been seen, perhaps father will be told.

21 (Therefore) they take their own money (rob their own banks); they
22 save to pay the debt

23 They tell the (woman
(man

24 They buy a window and take it to the house

25 The man will not accept it (he has another).

26 The woman is satisfied.

27 They will not tell the parents.

1 4. The ball is lost (2 answers)

2 The true story comes out and both are punished.

3 They plan to buy a new ball and lie about the old one.

4 5. The boys boldly go to the woman and lie and say they are going to find
5 the culprits (1 answer)

6 6. Father tells the story of the window -- the boys (brothers) laugh
7 and say they are the ones who did it (1 answer)

8 In this story the culprit (Manfred, who kicks the ball into the window)

9 is known to the reader in advance, but, as in the case of The Lost Money,

10 there is not always a definite solution given by the writers. When the

11 boys run away and play elsewhere and hide, etc. it is not always said whether

12 they do in fact get away with it (explicit only in three cases). As in the

13 other stories, there are the two alternatives: (1) to try to get away with

14 it and hope for the best -- but here the boys suffer the symptoms of anxiety

15 (fear and blushing); or (2) to confess at once and be forgiven.

16 In this story the outcome is quite clearcut: those who confess and

17 arrive with money in hand ready to make good the loss have no further troubles

18 (in one case they are even rewarded -- the man has another window and does

19 not take their money). Those who are apprehended before they have a chance

20 either to run away or to confess are punished in various ways: by having to

21 pay, by being fined, by being whipped by their parents. It is interesting

22 that in several cases it is Mother who has seen or heard about the episode

23 (though sometimes she is told by another person; but Mother knows). The

24 boys may or may not get away with a lie: in one case they do (they tell the

25 woman they are looking for the culprits); in another case they do not (they

26 tell a lie to the man whose window was broken but a storekeeper gives them

1 away -- they were too bold). Confession and atonement, if they are to be
2 effective, must be voluntary, personal (own money) and immediate. Delay
3 spoils the whole effect.

4 Significantly, however, it is the boys who get off scotfree who learn
5 the objective lesson: they decide never to play ball in the street again,
6 to play ball on the sport place. This is made explicit in the stories.
7 The implicit lessons learned from the other two versions are (1) if you
8 confess you will be forgiven, and (2) if you are caught you will be punished
9 in addition to having to make good the damage.

10 As in the other stories, the two boys hang together until they are
11 individually pressed to confess -- then they blame each other. They are
12 occasionally differentiated in other ways, e.g. Manfred is glad the window
13 was only cracked but Karl is glad it was spoiled because he was always having
14 fights with the people in that house; Manfred wants to run away but Karl
15 thinks it is better to confess, etc. When they do confess and pay, they
16 share in the cost of doing so -- the writers do not differentiate between
17 the boy who kicked the ball and the one who was playing with him.

11

6. The Lost Composition Book

18 Plot Situation: Else often turned her compositions in late to the teacher
19 (woman). This time it was a particularly important composition and she had
20 written it on time. On the way to school, she lost the composition book and
21 could not find it anywhere. What did Else say to the teacher? What did the
22 teacher say?

23 In considering the implications of this story, it is necessary to
24 remember that in German schools the composition book is a permanent document:

25 11. Analysis based on the total number of answers given (85).

1 each mark is entered into it, corrections are entered into it, and the final
2 mark is based on the neatness and organization of the book as a whole at
3 every stage. ¹² Parents may threaten to refuse to buy a new composition book
4 in the middle of a term. ¹³

5 The plot as it is outlined by the writers turns on two questions:
6 (1) does Else tell the truth about her loss (and in one or two cases, is the
7 story as outlined true?), and (2) does the teacher believe what she says
8 (irrespective of whether Else tells the truth or invents a lie).

9 Of the 85 children who wrote out this story, 63 have Else tell the truth,
10 and 15 have her tell a lie. (The other 7 deal with other aspects of the
11 problem.) Thus, for the most part, the children expect Else to be truthful
12 (in contrast to Michael and the sausages) -- and they do not go into the
13 question of how she happened to lose the book on her way to school. (Here
14 the story as given is one of simple, accidental loss; in Michael and the
15 sausages the story is turned into one of simple accidental loss.)

16 The teacher believes the truth about half the time (slightly more
17 often when Else is telling the truth than when she is telling a lie) and
18 believes a lie about half the time; she disbelieves the truth and the lie
19 about half the time.

20 12. A major incident in Kästner's novel Das fliegende Klassenzimmer turns
21 on the theft of a set of composition books and their destruction by a rival
22 gang from another school -- the gang set upon the boy taking the books to the
23 teacher.

24 13. A 14 year old informant (boy) describes how the children in his class
25 bedevilled a disliked teacher by telling him that their parents would not
26 buy new notebooks -- when the teacher had tried to punish them by taking their
27 notebooks away -- so that he was put in the position either of giving back
28 the confiscated ones or of buying new ones with his own money.

1 The answers divide up more-or-less as follows:

2

I		II		III	
Elsa tells truth	%	Elsa tells a lie	%	Miscellaneous	%
Teacher believes	39	Teacher believes	7.1	Elsa afraid	3.5
Teacher disbelieves	32	Teacher disbelieves	7.1	No one believes (1.2)	(1.2)
(?)	3.5	(?)	2.4	Dares not go to school	(1.2)
		The story of the loss is a lie	1.2	Elsa not afr.	1.2
				Buys a new bk.	2.4
				Is not inter. in school	1.2
TOTAL	74.5		17.8		8.3

3 By implication, there is no certainty that the truth told by a child will be
 4 more acceptable to an adult than a lie. Disbelief by the teacher is regularly
 5 attributed to the fact that Else has sinned in the past. Thus one child
 6 quotes the proverb: "Who once has lied is not believed / Even when he tells
 7 the truth" (Wer einmal lügt, dem glaubt man nicht / Wenn er auch die Wahrheit
 8 spricht). One moral of this tale, as it is told by the children, is that
 9 past sins are remembered in present times of trouble and -- justly or unjustly
 10 are likely to increase suspicion in the present situation. ¹⁴ Thus, even
 11 when one has made everything good again in the past (or is it implied that
 12 Else did not do so?), trouble can crop up again.

13 Where Else lies, disbelief seems (as in the case of Michael and the

14 14. Compare to the story of The Teacher and the Lost Money where, in
 15 several versions, the teacher (and in one case the pupils) suspect already
 16 dubious characters in the class.

1 sausages) quite clearly related to the feebleness of the lies -- the invented
 2 reasons why the composition book is not handed in are much less credible
 3 than the truth (as if the child were trying to call attention to wrong-doing).
 4 The lies are so patently absurd (e.g. her father forgot to put the composition
 5 in her school bag; her mother burned it) that discovery is automatic. Where
 6 a lie is disbelieved, the punishment tends to be one that starts a chain of
 7 serious consequences involving home as well as the school. Among the
 8 reprehensible Elses, there is one whose story is a lie from beginning to
 9 end: she lied when she said the composition book was lost -- she had been
 10 cheating in the composition book -- and when the teacher discovered this and
 11 wrote home, Else read and then burned the letter.

12 With certain exceptions, the truth-telling Else gets no sympathy and,
 13 in addition to having to write the composition again, she is punished in
 14 various ways: the teacher scolds and "has no pity," calls her names
 15 (leichtsinig, unachtsam, Schlafmütze, nichtaupassend, Schlampigkeit), shames
 16 her before whole class, gives her a bad mark, makes her write it again after
 17 school, writes to parents and Else is beaten at home, tells her mother,
 18 slaps her.

19 There is one small but interesting group of answers (5) among those
 20 where the teacher doubts (disbelieves) the truth (i.e. that the book is lost).

21 15. One is reminded here of the absurdity of some of the reasons (lies)
 22 given by Michael and of the "blushing" and "red face" signal of guilt in the
 23 Michael, lost money, and broken window stories. It is as if, in certain
 24 cases, the lie was intended to have the opposite effect of that rationally
 25 planned.

26 16. This tale of horror reminds one of cases cited or referred to in
 27 pedagogical literature of incorrigible children -- where the implication is,
 28 this is their nature, they were born like this.

1 Here -- and almost only here in these stories -- outsiders come in to
 2 protect the culprit: The teacher sends her home and Else's mother confirms
 3 Else's story that she had written the composition; at some stage in the story
 4 another girl comes to the class and returns the lost composition book --
 5 and the teacher is faced with the fact that she disbelieved the truth. 17
 6 But even so, Else may be punished -- the teacher persuaded of the truth
 7 tells Else's mother what has happened.

8 Indeed, irrespective of the particular plot, Else's situation is an
 9 unpleasant one -- summed up in the comment of one child who wrote: "Thus
 10 it goes with disorderly children" (So geht es mit unmordentliche Kinder).
 11 There are, however, two interesting alternatives. In one story, the writer
 12 denies Else's previous delinquencies -- all was well because Else was the
 13 best pupil in the class. 18 In another, the teacher gives Else a new notebook
 14 and henceforth Else is a model pupil. 19 There is also a story in which the
 15 teacher, after doubting the truth is persuaded of it and finds that Else
 16 really wrote a good composition and then there is a real reversal; she says:
 17 "Always be as industrious as this and you will be a good (tüchtig) pupil."
 18 The implication is that Else does reform. Thus, where the teacher shows her
 19 own virtue through praise (where she is the one who should apologize for her
 20 earlier disbelief) there is a total reversal of effect.

21 17. These few cases echo The Lost Money story, where the teacher is shown
 22 to be a false accuser. The story makes the point: not I but you are guilty.

23 18. This echoes the situation in The Lost Money story where the thief
 24 is said to be a good boy and so no one holds the theft against him.

25 19. This echoes The Lost Money story where the thief is a poor boy and
 26 the teacher gives him the stolen money (to buy food, to buy medicine for a
 27 sick mother) -- and the thief reforms because good is returned for evil.

III. Background Information on German Children's Storiesa. Description of the Sample

1 The sample on which the foregoing analysis is based is made up of
2 150 answers to the Anderson Story Completion Form, collected in five classes
3 in three schools in a German city in the summer of 1952. A total of
4 56 boys in two classes (20 and 36) and 94 girls in three classes (26, 28, and
5 36) are included in the sample.

6 The sample was studied in its original form -- handwritten in pencil by
7 the children on mimeographed forms. Translations of the story plots and of
8 quotations from the children's statements, given in the analysis, were made
9 by myself.

b. Description of the Administrative Procedure

10 The administrative procedure is described by Dr. Anderson as follows:

11 ... The procedure was for the two Andersons, Mr. G. (a German), and
12 sometimes the principal to enter the schoolroom at 8, 9, 10, and 11
13 in the morning. The teacher had been informed and was expecting us.
14 The children leaped to attention, they were seated by the teacher, or
15 sometimes by Mr. G.; the teacher read the paragraph introduction,
16 Mr. G. turned to Mr. Anderson and asked if he had a few words to say,
17 and I spoke somewhat as follows: "We are happy to have the opportunity
18 to spend a few weeks in Germany. We are delightfully surprised to
19 discover that the boys and girls of Germany are very much like the
20 boys and girls of America. Now we do not want to take any more of
21 Mr. G's time, we bring you our greetings from America, and hope you
22 enjoy the stories. Thank you." Then Mr. G. read the instructions.
23 The teacher did not participate in the administration of the test.

24 The following is a translation of the instructions given to the class
25 by the teacher:

26 Today we are going to do something different. As you see, we have
27 visitors. They are two professors from an American university:
28 Michigan State College. Dr. and Mrs. Anderson are particularly
29 interested in American boys and girls. Now they are in Germany for
30 a few weeks. Mr. G. is working with the two professors. Mr. G. will
31 explain to you what you are to do.

1 The following is a translation of the instructions given to the class

2 by the test administrator, Mr. G:

3 Read what has happened in the stories and then write what you think
4 will happen next. There are no right answers and no wrong answers,
5 so write just whatever you think.

6 There is no time limit, but work as rapidly as you can. There are
7 six stories and you may use the whole period.

8 Do not write your name. We do not want to know who wrote the stories.
9 Do not be afraid to write anything you think will happen in the
10 stories. Professor and Mrs. Anderson will take your stories back to
11 America with them. Please write honestly, even if it is something
12 you would not say to your friend or to your teacher. Be honest boys
13 and girls. Your stories will not be read by the teacher, by the
14 principal, or by the superintendent.

15 Do not write too beautifully. Write clearly, but if you make a mistake,
16 strike it out; that will not matter at all.

17 Will you now fill in the blanks at the top of the page and write
18 whether you are Catholic or Evangelical. Do not write your names.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. General Books on German Culture

- Alwyn, Richard. 1952. "The German University Today." Unpublished lecture delivered at Smith College April 24, 1952.
- Bateson, Gregory. 1942. "Morale and National Character." In Civilian Morale, edited by Goodwin Watson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Pp. 71-91.
- , 1943. "Cultural and Thematic Analysis of Fictional Films," Transactions, The New York Academy of Sciences, Ser. 2, V, No. 4, 72-78.
- , 1945. "An Analysis of the Nazi Film Hitlerjunge Quex." New York: Institute for Intercultural Studies (mimeographed).
- Becker, Howard. 1946. German Youth: Bond or Free. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Benz, Richard. 1948. Rhythmus deutscher Kultur. Versuch einer Deutung der Geschichtskräfte. Hamburg: M. von Schröder Verlag.
- Breuer, Hans (ed.). n.d. Der Zupfgeigenhansel. Cambridge, Mass.: Schoenhof's Foreign Books (photolithographed).
- Brickner, Richard. 1942. "The German Cultural Paranoid Trend," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XII, No. 3, 544-545; No. 4, 611-632.
- , 1943. Is Germany Incurable? Philadelphia: Lippincott.
- , and L. Vosburgh Lyons. 1943. "A Neuropsychiatric View of German Culture," Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases, XCVIII, No. 3, 281-293.
- Camp, Leo P. 1950. "The Influence of Military Government Sponsorship in German Opinion Polling," International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research, IV, No. 2, 151-178.
- Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschafts Zeitung. 1952. VII, June-December.
- Dicks, Henry V. 1947. "The Psychological Approach to the German Character." Unpublished paper prepared for a Conference on Some Aspects of the German Problem.
- , 1950. "Personality Traits and National Socialist Ideology," Human Relations, III, No. 2, 111-154.

1. This bibliography includes the German books and books on Germany that were used for the purpose of this study; all references cited in the text are given in it. For practical purposes the bibliography has been divided into four parts in order to give a general indication of the types of books that have been included. The general paper on German character structure draws on all four parts; the working papers each draw on one of the special bibliographies (2nd, 3rd, and 4th) in that order.

at Work: 1950 Unitarian Service Committee Medical Mission to Germany,
June 13-August 10, 1950. (Pamphlet.)

Education and Child Care Institute in Germany, 1949. 1949. Boston: Unitarian
Service Committee in cooperation with Arbeiter-Wohlfahrt (Hanover, Germany).

Education and Child Care Institute in Germany, 1950. 1950. Boston: Unitarian
Service Committee in cooperation with Arbeiter-Wohlfahrt (Hanover, Germany).

Elizabeth. 1902. The Benefactress. New York: Macmillan.

..... 1914. The Pastor's Wife. New York: Doubleday, Page.

Drickson, Erik H. 1942. "Hitler's Imagery and German Youth," Psychiatry, V, No. 4,
 475-493.

..... 1950. Childhood and Society. New York: Norton.

Expellees and Refugees of German Ethnic Origin: Report of a Special Subcommittee
on the Judiciary, House of Representatives. 1950. 81st Congress, 2nd
Session, Report No. 1841. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Brown, Erich. 1941. Escape from Freedom. New York: Farrar and Rinehart.

Gorer, Geoffrey. 1953. The Life and Ideas of the Marquis de Sade, 2nd revised
 edition. London: Peter Owen.

Guttenberg, Elisabeth von. 1952. Holding the Stirrup. As told to Sheridan Spearman.
 New York and Boston: Sloan and Pearce, Little Brown and Co.

Haseeloff, Otto Walter. 1953. "Was die Jugend heute liest," Die Neue Zeitung,
 March 11, March 12, and March 24.

Health and Human Relations in Germany. 1950. Report of a Conference on Problems
of Health and Human Relations in Germany, Nassau Tavern, Princeton, N.J.,
June 26-30, 1950. New York: The Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation. (German
edition: Menschen Untereinander.)

Health and Human Relations in Germany. 1951. Report of the Second Conference on
Problems of Health and Human Relations in Germany, The Williamsburg Lodge,
Williamsburg, Virginia, December 10-15, 1950. New York: The Josiah Macy,
Jr. Foundation. (German edition: Menschen Untereinander.)

Heiden, Konrad. 1944. Der Führer: Hitler's Rise to Power. Boston: Houghton
 Mifflin.

Hesse, Hermann. 1929. Steppenwolf. Translated by Basil Creighton. New York:
 Henry Holt. (Original German edition, 1927.)

Steen, Hermann. 1948. Domian: The Story of a Youth. New York: Henry Holt.
(Original German edition, 1923.)

Stiller, Adolf. 1943. Main Kampf. Translated by Ralph Manheim. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Stolz, Hans. 1951. Der Erfolgreiche: Roman eines Chirurgen. Munich: Leser-Union
Gemeinschaft der Freunde des guten Buches. (Verlag Kurt Desch.)

Tachibana, P., and N. Leites. 1945. "Some Psychological Hypotheses on Nazi
Germany." Washington, D.C.: The Library of Congress, Experimental Division
for the Study of War Time Communications, Document No. 60 (mimeographed).

Uexküll, Adolph. 1951. Über den Umgang mit Menschen. New edition, edited by Herbert
Seggelske. Essen, Munich, Hamburg: Pohl. (Originally written in 1783.)

Uexküll, Siegfried. 1947. From Caligari to Hitler. Princeton: Princeton
University Press.

Unger, Kurt. 1941. Inside Hitler. New York: Avalon Press.

Unger, David M. 1946. "The German Anti-Nazi: A Case Study," American Journal of
Orthopsychiatry, XVI, No. 3, 507-515.

----- 1947. New Fields of Psychiatry. New York: Norton.

----- 1948. "Anti-Nazis: Criteria of Differentiation," Psychiatry, XI, No. 2,
125-167.

Unger, Kurt. 1947. "Hitler Youth and the Boy Scouts of America: A Comparison of
Aims," Human Relations, I, No. 2, 206-227.

Unger, William O. n.d. "A Community Study of the Town and Kreis of Miesbach,
Germany." (MS.)

Louis Ferdinand (Prince). 1952. The Rebel Prince: Memoirs of Prince Louis
Ferdinand of Prussia. Introduction by Louis P. Lochner. Chicago: Henry
Regnery.

Lowe, Robert H. 1945. The German People: A Social Portrait to 1914. New York:
Farrar and Rinehart.

----- 1952. "The German Family." Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological
Research. Summary of unpublished lecture delivered June 6, 1952.

Lütke, Gerhard, and Lutz Mackensen. 1928-1938. Deutscher Kulturatlas, 5 vols.
Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter and Co.

- McGrath, Donald G. 1946. "A Comparison of Social Attitudes among American and German Youth," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XII, No. 3, 245-257.
- , and Morris Janowitz. 1946. "Studies of German Youth," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XII, No. 1, 3-14.
- , and Iver Wayne. 1948. "German and American Traits Reflected in Popular Drama," Human Relations, I, No. 4, 429-455.
- Mann, Thomas. 1937. Der Zauberberg. Vienna: Bermann-Fischer Verlag.
- Mossing, Paul. 1949. Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany. New York: Harper.
- Mead, Margaret (ed.). 1949. "Regularities in German Character Structure which are particularly relevant to Political Behavior." Based on a group of papers and reports by various authors (mimeographed).
- Neidicke, Friedrich. 1950. The German Catastrophe. Translated by Sidney B. Fay. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Nelson, Rhoda. 1943. "Qualitative Attitude Analysis: A Technique for the Study of Verbal Behavior." In Report of the Committee on Food Habits, 1941-1943. "The Problem of Changing Food Habits," National Research Council Bulletin, No. 108. Washington, D.C. Pp. 86-94.
- Rinder, R. 1948. Allemandes et Allemands, I. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Schumann, Wilhelm E. 1947. Dreizehn Jahre. Hamburg: Hans von Hugo Verlag.
- Putzger, F. W. 1931. Historischer Schul-Atlas. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Max Pehle u. Hans Siberborth. Mielefeld u. Leipzig: Verlag von Vohlgagen u. Klesing. (Original edition, 1923.)
- Ross, J. R. (ed.). 1947. The Case of Rudolf Hess. London: William Heinemann.
- "Report of a Conference on Germany after the War." 1944. Called by the Joint Committee on Post-War Planning. Including a report on "Regularities in German Character Structure," prepared by Margaret Mead and others (mimeographed).
- Radnick, David. 1948. Postwar Germans: An Anthropologist's Account. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- "Round Table, 1945. Germany after the War." 1945. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XIV, No. 3, 381-441.
- Salomon, Ernst von. 1951. Der Fragebogen. Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag.

- Schaffner, Bertram. 1948. Father Land. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Siegel, Roberta S. 1951. "What Germans Think and Why," Commentary, XII, 278-284.
- Stifter, Adalbert. / 1857./ Der Nachsommer. Zurich: Scientia-Verlag. (No date given for present reprinting.)
- Taylor, A. J. P. 1946. The Course of German History: A Survey of the Development of Germany since 1816. New York: Coward-McCann.
- Thompson, Dorothy. 1942. Listen, Hans. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- United States Department of State. 1946. "Report of the United States Education Mission to Germany." (mimeographed).
- United States Office of the High Commissioner for Germany. 1949-1952. Report on Germany (quarterly reports nos. 1-10). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- United States Office of the High Commissioner for Germany. 1949-1952. Information Bulletin (monthly). Frankfurt, Germany.
- United States Strategic Bombing Survey. 1947. The Effects of Strategic Bombing on German Morale. Washington, D.C.
- Verg, Erik. 1952. "Die deutsch-deutsche Grenze," Illustrierte Woche, Badische Illustrierte, Nr. 46, November 15, pp. 1098, 1100.
- Wolfenstein, Martha, and Nathan Leites. 1950. The Movies, A Psychological Study. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- Young Germany Today. 1947. A Report of the Delegation from The Standing Conference of National Voluntary Youth Organizations on their visit to the British Zone of Germany, October 1946. London: National Council of Social Service. (Pamphlet.)
- Zaunert, Paul (ed.). n.d. Deutsches Märchenbuch. Düsseldorf/Köln: Eugen Diederichs Verlag.
- Ziemer, Gregor. 1941. Education for Death: The Making of the Nazi. New York: Oxford University Press.

2. Child Care and Youth Guidance and Related Literature

- Bordy, Curt, and Klaus Eyferth. 1952. Bindungslose Jugend: Eine sozial-pädagogische Studie über Arbeits- und Heimatlosigkeit. Munich u. Düsseldorf: Verlag Wilhelm Steinebach.
- Borch, Bilde. 1952. Don't Be Afraid of Your Child. New York: Farrar Straus and Young.
- Behrnt, Alfred. 1927. Der gegenwärtige Stand der neuen Lehrerbildung in den einzelnen Ländern Deutschlands und in ausserdeutschen Staaten. 2nd edition. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus, Nachfolger Hof-Buchdruckerei und Verlagsbuchhandlung G.m.b.H.
- Gasper, Hans Beat. 1952. Handbuch für Lagerleiter. Frankfurt: H. R. Sauerländer Verlag.
- Hetzer, Prof. Dr. Hildegard. 1947a. Seelische Hygiene lebensfähige Kinder. 8th edition. Lindau/Bodensee: Verlag "Kleine Kinder." (Original edition, 1930.)
- 1947b. Erziehungsfehler. 4th edition. Lindau/Bodensee: Verlag "Kleine Kinder." (No date given for original edition.)
- Kinkel, Hans. 1939. Die Lebensalter. Jena: Eugen Diederichs Verlag.
- Lehrerbildung für Württemberg-Baden (Esslinger Plan). 1949. Bericht der internationalen Arbeitsgemeinschaft in Esslingen/Neckar 1949. Stuttgart: Verlag von Ernst Klett.
- Mead, Margaret. 1948. "A Case History in Cross-National Communications." In The Communication of Ideas, edited by Lyman Bryson. New York: Harper. Pp. 209-229.
- Métraux, Rhoda, and Margaret Mead. 1963. Themes in French Culture: Preface to a Study of French Community. Hoover Institute Studies. Stanford: Stanford University Press (in press).
- Neubert, Hermann. 1960. Akademisches Zucht- und Treuebüchlein: Oder Studienanleitung für eine Tochter. Hamburg: Christian Wegner Verlag. (Original edition, 1941.)
- Plattner, Elisabeth. 1951. Die ersten Lebensjahre: Ein Erziehungsbuch. Heidelberg: Quelle u. Meyer.
- Rainers, Ludwig. 1960. Fibel für Liebende: zugleich eine Anleitung verheiratet und doch glücklich zu sein. Hamburg: Verlag Heinrich Ellermann. (Reprint, no date given for original publication.)

- Gohalts, Prof. Dr. J. E. 1951. Geschlecht, Liebe, Ehe: Die Grundtatsachen des Liebes- und Geschlechtslebens in ihrer Bedeutung für das menschliche Dasein, 5th improved edition. Munich u. Basel: Ernst Reinhardt Verlag. (No date given for original edition.)
- Sesemann, Kurt. 1952. Kind, Sexualität und Erziehung: Zum Verständnis der geschlechtlichen Entwicklung und Fehlentwicklung von Kind und Jugendlichen, 2nd edition. Munich u. Basel: Ernst Reinhardt Verlag. (No date given for original edition.)
- Sprenger, Eduard. 1951. Psychologie des Jugendalters. 22nd printing. Heidelberg: Quelle u. Meyer. (Original edition, 1924.)
- Thielicke, Helmut. 1952. Die Erzieherische Verantwortung der Hochschulreform: Grundfragen der Hochschulreform. Tübingen: Verlag J. C. B. Mohr Paul Siebeck).
- Wenke, Hans. 1952. Wissenschaft und Erziehung: Beiträge zur Pädagogik und Kulturpolitik. Heidelberg: Quelle u. Meyer.
- Wolfenstein, Martha. 1950. "Some Variants in Moral Training of Children." In Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, V. New York: International Universities Press. Pp. 310-328.
- , 1951. "The Emergence of Fun Morality," The Journal of Social Issues, VII, No. 4, 15-25.
- , 1953. "Trends in Infant Care," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXIII, No. 1, 120-130.

3. Juvenile Fiction and Related Literature

- Andersen, Hans Christian. 192-. H. C. Andersens sämtliche Märchen. Translated by J. Reuscher. Leipzig: Abel und Müller.
- Böttichen, Georg, et al. n.d. O diese Kinder. Munich: Braun und Schneider. (Pre-World War I.)
- Busch, Wilhelm. 1949. Album für die Jugend. Zurich: Rascher Verlag.
- Ewers, Hans Heinz. 1922. Die verkaufte Grossmutter: Ein deutsches Märchenbuch. Munich: Georg Müller.
- Haarbeck, L. n.d. Wildfangs Schulzeit. Wildfang als Backfisch. Wildfang als Braut. Wildfang als Tante. Wildfang als Mutter. Basel und Leblin: Neutlingen.
- Hoffman, Heinrich. / 1846. / Der Struwwelpeter; oder lustige Geschichten und drollige Bilder. Leipzig: Insel Verlag.
- Kästner, Erich. 1933. Der 35. Mai. Zurich: Atrium Verlag.
- / 1938 / Das fliegende Klassenzimmer. Zurich: Atrium-Verlag. (No date given for present printing.)
- 1949. Pünktchen und Anton: Ein Roman für Kinder. Zurich: Atrium-Verlag. (Original edition, 1938.)
- May, Karl. n.d. I. Durch die Wüste. Vienna: Karl May Bucherei im Verlag Carl Überreuter. (Original edition, 1881.)
- n.d. II. Durchs wilde Kurdistan. (Original edition, 1881.)
- n.d. III. Von Bagdad nach Stambul. (Original edition, 1882.)
- n.d. IV. In den Schluchten des Balkan. (Original edition, 1883.)
- n.d. V. Durch das Land der Skipetaren. (Original edition, 1887.)
- n.d. VI. Der Schut. (Original edition, 1887.)
- 1895. Winnetou, 3 vols. Freiburg in Breisgau: Fehsenfeld.
- n.d. Ardisten und Dechimisten. Freiburg in Breisgau: Fehsenfeld.
- n.d. Ich.
- Pajeken, Friedrich J. n.d. Andrew Brown der rote Spion: Eine Erzählung aus dem wilden Westen Nordamerikas. Stuttgart: Verlag von Wilhelm Miensoerger. (Published before 1900.)
- Reinheimer, Sophie. 1949. Das Wirtshaus "Zum Weidenbusch." Berlin u. Augsburg: Vier Tannen Verlag, Schneider u. Co.
- n.d. Tannenzwals Kinderstube. Augsburg: Franz Schneider Verlag.

- Boebel, Bunc in Chapelle. / 1937. / Trotzkopf als Grossmutter. Authorized translation from the Dutch by Anna Herbst. Basel: Münster-Verlag. (No date given for present printing.)
- Sapper, Agnes. 1960. Das kleine Dummerle und andere Erzählungen. Stuttgart: D. Gundert Verlag. (Originally published early 1900s.)
- , 1951. Die Familie Pfäffling: Eine deutsche Wintergeschichte. Stuttgart: D. Gundert Verlag. (Original edition, 1908.)
- , 1952. Werden und Wachsen: Erlebnisse der grossen Pfäfflingkinder. Stuttgart: D. Gundert Verlag. (Original edition, 1910.)
- Schanz, Frida. n.d. In der Feierstunde: Erzählungen für kleine Mädchen. Stuttgart: Verlag von Gustav Weise. (Dates from 1880s.)
- Scharrelmann, Heinrich. 1921. Berni: Aus seiner ersten Schulzeit. Hamburg u. Braunschweig: Verlag von Georg Westermann. (No date given for original publication; pre-World War I.)
- Schumacher, Tony. 1951. Das Turn-Engel. 32nd printing. Stuttgart: Herold-Verlag. (Probably pre-World War I.)
- Siebs, Josephine. 1951. Kasperle auf Burg Himmelhoch: Eine lustige Kasperle-Geschichte. Stuttgart: Herold-Verlag. (No date given for original edition.)
- , 1951. Kasperle im Kasper-Land: Eine lustige Kasper legeschichte. Stuttgart: Herold-Verlag. (No date given for original edition.)
- Speyer, Wilhelm. 1927. Der Kampf der Partia. Munich: Drömersche Verlagsanstalt.
- , 1931. Die Goldene Horde. Berlin: Ernst Rowohlt Verlag.
- Stinde, Julius. 1951. Die Familie Buchholz. Hamm: G. Grote Verlag. (Written in 1880s; no date given for original edition.)
- Stolte, Heinz. 1936. Der Volksschriftsteller Karl May. Jena. (Dissertation.)
- Thilo-Luyken, M. (ed.). 1920. Deutsche Märchen gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm. Ebenhausen. bei. München: Wilhelm Langewiesche-Brandt.
- Ury, Else. 1950. Nesthäkchen und ihre Küken. Düsseldorf: Koch-Verlag. (No date given for original edition; setting is post-World War I.)
- , 1951. Nesthäkchen fliegt aus dem Nest. Erzählung für junge Mädchen. Düsseldorf: Koch-Verlag. (No date given for original edition; setting is post-World War I.)
- , 1952. Nesthäkchens Backfischzeit: Eine Jungmädchengeschichte. Düsseldorf: Koch-Verlag. (No date given for original edition; setting is post-World War I.)
- Wildhagen, Else. / 1937. / Trotzkopf als Moe. Basel: Münster Verlag. (No date given for present printing.)
- Wustmann, Erich. 1951. Gumbild die Reiterin: Ein Mädchenleben in Norwegen. Esslin u. Leiblitz: Verlag Neutlingen. (No date given for original edition.)

4. The Gartenlaube and Related Literature

Armin, Achim von. 1810. Armut, Reichtum, Schuld und Busse der Gräfin Dolores. Berlin.

Benz, Richard. 1948. Rhythmus deutscher Kultur. Versuch einer Deutung der Geschichtskräfte. Hamburg: M. von Schroder Verlag.

Böhlen, Helene. 1911. Isebies. Munich.

Brentano, Clemens. 1817. Geschichte vom braven Kasperl und dem schönen Annerl. Berlin.

Chamisso, A. von. 1814. Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte. Nürnberg.

Conradi, Hermann. 1889. Adam Mensch. Leipzig.

Fyfe, Max von. 1906. Der Schneider vom Ulm. Geschichte eines 200 Jahre zu früh geborenen. Stuttgart.

Gartenlaube, Die; Illustriertes Familienblatt. 1853-1937. Leipzig: E. Keil.

Artaria, R. 1881. "Ungleiche Seelen."

Auerbach, Berthold. 1870. "Der Fels der Ehrenlegion."

Benedix, Roderick. 1885. "Studentenliebe."

Bernhard, Marie. 1890. "Sonnenwende."

-----, 1891. "Ein Götzenbild."

-----, 1893. "Um meinetwillen."

-----, 1894. "Die Perle."

Blüthgen, Victor. 1877. "Aus gährender Zeit."

Boy-Ed, Ida. 1891. "Lee und Rahel."

-----, 1895. "Die Lampe der Psycho."

Bülow, H. 1888. "Der Heidehof."

Erner-Eschenbad, M. 1896. "Ein Verbot."

Ganghofer, Ludwig. 1884. "Dachapel. Eine Hochlandsgeschichte."

-----, 1892. "Das Klösterjäger."

-----, 1894. "Die Martinsklausur. Roman aus dem 12. Jahrhundert."

-----, 1896. "Der Laufende Berg."

Gerstächer, F. 1888. "Reine Wildenfels."

-----, 1889. "Zu wirtschaftlich."

Godin, A. 1888. "Das Erkennungszeichen."

-----, 1873. "Das Bild ohne Gnade."

-----, 1876. "Kein Herr."

Gieseck, Bernd von. 1867. "Der Advent der Frankfurter historische Novelle"

Gedenkreise (cont'd.)

- Boimburg, W. 1878. "Lumpenmüllers Lieschen."
 ----- 1879. "Unterm Schloss."
 ----- 1880. "Unverstanden."
 ----- 1884. "Am Abgrund."
 ----- 1884. "Ein armes Mädchen."
 ----- 1886. "Unser Mäde."
 ----- 1886. "Die Andere."
 ----- 1890. "Auf schwankem Boden."
 ----- 1891. "Eine unbedeutenden Frau."
 ----- 1891. "Mansell Unmüts."
 ----- 1893. "Sabinens Freier."
 ----- 1894. "Um fremde Schuld."
 ----- 1895. "Hans Butzen."
 ----- 1897. "Trotsige Herzen."
 ----- 1898. "Antons Erben."
 Heyse, Paul. 1866. "Auferstanden."
 ----- 1868. "Vetter Gabriel."
 ----- 1875. "Die Kaiserin von Spinetta."
 ----- n.d. "Lorenz und Lora."
 Hillern, W. von. 1870. "Aus eigener Kraft."
 Hoefer, Edmund. 1867. "Die Herrin von Darnot."
 Kinkel, Gottfried. 1871. "Die Sühne durchs Leben."
 Kurz, Iselde. 1886. "Der kleine Schuh."
 Loy, Arthur von. 1868. "Drei Beimen ans Wege eins Hagestolzen."
 Marlitt, E. 1866. "Die zwölf Apostel."
 ----- 1866. "Elaubart."
 ----- 1866. "Goldelse."
 ----- 1867. "Das Geheimnis der alten Mansell."
 ----- 1869. "Reichsgräfin Gisele."
 ----- 1871. "Das Heideprinzesschen."
 ----- 1874. "Die zweite Frau."
 ----- 1876. "Im Hause des Kommerzienrates."
 ----- 1879. "Im Schillingshof."
 ----- 1881. "Antmanns Magd."
 ----- n.d. "Die Frau mit dem Karfunkelsteinen."
 Meyern, Gustav von. 1877. Feuerdanks Brautfahrt. Romantisches Zeitbild aus dem 15. Jahrhundert."
 Messerer, T. 1872. "Beim Alten am Sulsberg."
 Mühlback, Louise. 1868. "Reins und Schlossergeselle."
 Oelschläger, Hermann. 1877. "Eine Harter Bacherinnerung."
 Perfall, Anton. 1892. "Ketten."
 Ramier, F. 1868. In sengender Glut."
 ----- 1867. "Getrennt."
 Rezaggar, P. 1870. "Gnovefa."
 Schloenback, Arnold. 1866. "Sie will sich duelliren."
 Schmid, Hermann. 1866. "Der bairische Ressel."
 ----- 1866. "Der Dommeister von Regensburg. Geschichtliche Erzählung."
 ----- 1867. "Der Bahermeister. Ein Volksbild aus den bairischen Bergen."
 ----- 1867. "Die Bräutchen."

Verzeichnisse (cont'd.)

- Schmid, Hermann. 1868. "Süden und Norden. Eine bairische Dorfgeschichte von 1866."
- 1869. "Die Gasselbuden. Geschichte aus bairischen Vorbergen."
- 1870. "Der Bergwirth."
- 1871. "Die Zuwider-Wurzen."
- 1873. "Der Loder."
- 1874. "Die Geschichte vom Spötterl."
- 1875. "Hund und Katz."
- 1877. "Im Himmelsnoos."
- 1878. "Aufg'setzt."
- 1880. "Ledige Kinder."
- Schucking, Levin. 1865. "Der Erbtretit."
- 1866. "Die Doppelens."
- 1866. "Das Thurmszimmer. Geistergeschichte aus Norders Leben."
- 1868. "Der Schatz des Kurfürsten. Historische Erzählung."
- 1869. "Verlassen und Verloren. Historische Erzählung aus dem Spessart."
- 1870. "Die Thurnschwalbe."
- 1871. "Pulver und Gold."
- 1872. "Die Diamanten der Grossmutter."
- 1875. "Der Doppelgänger."
- 1875. "Das Capital."
- 1881. "Bruderpflcht."
- Spielhagen, Friederich. 1872. "Was die Schwalbe sang."
- 1886. "Was will das werden."
- Waldemar, H. 1874. "Flüedersweige."
- Warring, Hans. 1877. "Hohe Fluth."
- Weidrod, E. 1890. "Lenstere Mächte. Eine Bauesgeschichte."
- Werner, E. 1870. "Hermann."
- 1871. "Ein Held der Feder."
- 1872. "Am Altar."
- 1873. "Glück Auf!"
- 1874. "Gesprengte Fesseln."
- 1876. "Vineta."
- 1878. "Um hohen Preis!"
- 1880. "Frühlingsboten."
- 1883. "Gebant und Erlöst."
- 1886. "Sankt Michael."
- 1890. "Hausenzeichen."
- 1891. "Der höhere Standpunkt."
- 1893. "Freie Bahn."
- Wickert, Ernst. 1873. "Schuster Lange."
- 1875. "Ein kleines Bild."
- 1883. "Die Braut in Tramer."
- Wilbrandt, Adolf. 1868. "Die Brüder."
- Wild, H. 1879. "Verheiratet."

Gutschov, Karl. 1850-51. Die Ritter von Geiste. Leipzig: Brockhaus.

Hauptmann, Carl. 1807. Richard der Löchter. Berlin.

- 113
- 114
- 115
- 116
- 117
- 118
- 119
- 120
- 121
- 122
- 123
- 124
- 125
- 126
- 127
- 128
- 129
- 130
- 131
- 132
- 133
- 134
- 135
- 136
- 137
- 138
- 139
- 140
- 141
- 142
- 143
- 144
- 145
- 146
- 147
- 148
- 149
- 150
- 151
- 152
- 153
- 154
- 155
- 156
- 157
- 158
- 159
- 160
- 161
- 162
- 163
- 164
- 165
- 166
- 167
- 168
- 169
- 170
- 171
- 172
- 173
- 174
- 175
- 176
- 177
- 178
- 179
- 180
- 181
- 182
- 183
- 184
- 185
- 186
- 187
- 188
- 189
- 190
- 191
- 192
- 193
- 194
- 195
- 196
- 197
- 198
- 199
- 200
- 201
- 202
- 203
- 204
- 205
- 206
- 207
- 208
- 209
- 210
- 211
- 212
- 213
- 214
- 215
- 216
- 217
- 218
- 219
- 220
- 221
- 222
- 223
- 224
- 225
- 226
- 227
- 228
- 229
- 230
- 231
- 232
- 233
- 234
- 235
- 236
- 237
- 238
- 239
- 240
- 241
- 242
- 243
- 244
- 245
- 246
- 247
- 248
- 249
- 250
- 251
- 252
- 253
- 254
- 255
- 256
- 257
- 258
- 259
- 260
- 261
- 262
- 263
- 264
- 265
- 266
- 267
- 268
- 269
- 270
- 271
- 272
- 273
- 274
- 275
- 276
- 277
- 278
- 279
- 280
- 281
- 282
- 283
- 284
- 285
- 286
- 287
- 288
- 289
- 290
- 291
- 292
- 293
- 294
- 295
- 296
- 297
- 298
- 299
- 300
- 301
- 302
- 303
- 304
- 305
- 306
- 307
- 308
- 309
- 310
- 311
- 312
- 313
- 314
- 315
- 316
- 317
- 318
- 319
- 320
- 321
- 322
- 323
- 324
- 325
- 326
- 327
- 328
- 329
- 330
- 331
- 332
- 333
- 334
- 335
- 336
- 337
- 338
- 339
- 340
- 341
- 342
- 343
- 344
- 345
- 346
- 347
- 348
- 349
- 350
- 351
- 352
- 353
- 354
- 355
- 356
- 357
- 358
- 359
- 360
- 361
- 362
- 363
- 364
- 365
- 366
- 367
- 368
- 369
- 370
- 371
- 372
- 373
- 374
- 375
- 376
- 377
- 378
- 379
- 380
- 381
- 382
- 383
- 384
- 385
- 386
- 387
- 388
- 389
- 390
- 391
- 392
- 393
- 394
- 395
- 396
- 397
- 398
- 399
- 400
- 401
- 402
- 403
- 404
- 405
- 406
- 407
- 408
- 409
- 410
- 411
- 412
- 413
- 414
- 415
- 416
- 417
- 418
- 419
- 420
- 421
- 422
- 423
- 424
- 425
- 426
- 427
- 428
- 429
- 430
- 431
- 432
- 433
- 434
- 435
- 436
- 437
- 438
- 439
- 440
- 441
- 442
- 443
- 444
- 445
- 446
- 447
- 448
- 449
- 450
- 451
- 452
- 453
- 454
- 455
- 456
- 457
- 458
- 459
- 460
- 461
- 462
- 463
- 464
- 465
- 466
- 467
- 468
- 469
- 470
- 471
- 472
- 473
- 474
- 475
- 476
- 477
- 478
- 479
- 480
- 481
- 482
- 483
- 484
- 485
- 486
- 487
- 488
- 489
- 490
- 491
- 492
- 493
- 494
- 495
- 496
- 497
- 498
- 499
- 500
- 501
- 502
- 503
- 504
- 505
- 506
- 507
- 508
- 509
- 510
- 511
- 512
- 513
- 514
- 515
- 516
- 517
- 518
- 519
- 520
- 521
- 522
- 523
- 524
- 525
- 526
- 527
- 528
- 529
- 530
- 531
- 532
- 533
- 534
- 535
- 536
- 537
- 538
- 539
- 540
- 541
- 542
- 543
- 544
- 545
- 546
- 547
- 548
- 549
- 550
- 551
- 552
- 553
- 554
- 555
- 556
- 557
- 558
- 559
- 560
- 561
- 562
- 563
- 564
- 565
- 566
- 567
- 568
- 569
- 570
- 571
- 572
- 573
- 574
- 575
- 576
- 577
- 578
- 579
- 580
- 581
- 582
- 583
- 584
- 585
- 586
- 587
- 588
- 589
- 590
- 591
- 592
- 593
- 594
- 595
- 596
- 597
- 598
- 599
- 600
- 601
- 602
- 603
- 604
- 605
- 606
- 607
- 608
- 609
- 610
- 611
- 612
- 613
- 614
- 615
- 616
- 617
- 618
- 619
- 620
- 621
- 622
- 623
- 624
- 625
- 626
- 627
- 628
- 629
- 630
- 631
- 632
- 633
- 634
- 635
- 636
- 637
- 638
- 639
- 640
- 641
- 642
- 643
- 644
- 645
- 646
- 647
- 648
- 649
- 650
- 651
- 652
- 653
- 654
- 655
- 656
- 657
- 658
- 659
- 660
- 661
- 662
- 663
- 664
- 665
- 666
- 667
- 668
- 669
- 670
- 671
- 672
- 673
- 674
- 675
- 676
- 677
- 678
- 679
- 680
- 681
- 682
- 683
- 684
- 685
- 686
- 687
- 688
- 689
- 690
- 691
- 692
- 693
- 694
- 695
- 696
- 697
- 698
- 699
- 700
- 701
- 702
- 703
- 704
- 705
- 706
- 707
- 708
- 709
- 710
- 711
- 712
- 713
- 714
- 715
- 716
- 717
- 718
- 719
- 720
- 721
- 722
- 723
- 724
- 725
- 726
- 727
- 728
- 729
- 730
- 731
- 732
- 733
- 734
- 735
- 736
- 737
- 738
- 739
- 740
- 741
- 742
- 743
- 744
- 745
- 746
- 747
- 748
- 749
- 750
- 751
- 752
- 753
- 754
- 755
- 756
- 757
- 758
- 759
- 760
- 761
- 762
- 763
- 764
- 765
- 766
- 767
- 768
- 769
- 770
- 771
- 772
- 773
- 774
- 775
- 776
- 777
- 778
- 779
- 780
- 781
- 782
- 783
- 784
- 785
- 786
- 787
- 788
- 789
- 790
- 791
- 792
- 793
- 794
- 795
- 796
- 797
- 798
- 799
- 800
- 801
- 802
- 803
- 804
- 805
- 806
- 807
- 808
- 809
- 810
- 811
- 812
- 813
- 814
- 815
- 816
- 817
- 818
- 819
- 820
- 821
- 822
- 823
- 824
- 825
- 826
- 827
- 828
- 829
- 830
- 831
- 832
- 833
- 834
- 835
- 836
- 837
- 838
- 839
- 840
- 841
- 842
- 843
- 844
- 845
- 846
- 847
- 848
- 849
- 850
- 851
- 852
- 853
- 854
- 855
- 856
- 857
- 858
- 859
- 860
- 861
- 862
- 863
- 864
- 865
- 866
- 867
- 868
- 869
- 870
- 871
- 872
- 873
- 874
- 875
- 876
- 877
- 878
- 879
- 880
- 881
- 882
- 883
- 884
- 885
- 886
- 887
- 888
- 889
- 890
- 891
- 892
- 893
- 894
- 895
- 896
- 897
- 898
- 899
- 900
- 901
- 902
- 903
- 904
- 905
- 906
- 907
- 908
- 909
- 910
- 911
- 912
- 913
- 914
- 915
- 916
- 917
- 918
- 919
- 920
- 921
- 922
- 923
- 924
- 925
- 926
- 927
- 928
- 929
- 930
- 931
- 932
- 933
- 934
- 935
- 936
- 937
- 938
- 939
- 940
- 941
- 942
- 943
- 944
- 945
- 946
- 947
- 948
- 949
- 950
- 951
- 952
- 953
- 954
- 955
- 956
- 957
- 958
- 959
- 960
- 961
- 962
- 963
- 964
- 965
- 966
- 967
- 968
- 969
- 970
- 971
- 972
- 973
- 974
- 975
- 976
- 977
- 978
- 979
- 980
- 981
- 982
- 983
- 984
- 985
- 986
- 987
- 988
- 989
- 990
- 991
- 992
- 993
- 994
- 995
- 996
- 997
- 998
- 999
- 1000